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REVIEW OF CHARLES W. UPHAM'S LIFE OF SIR HENRY VANE,
FOURTH GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

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IN no period of her history did Great Britain produce a larger number of illustrious men, than during the reign of the first Charles, and the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell. The following century is indeed denominated the Augustan age of English literature, wherein flourished many imposing names, such as Pope, Swift, Addison, Thomson, Watts, Young, and others equally distinguished. But if the reign of Queen Anne was more remarkable for productions in belles lettres, the former were more so for bold, original thinkers, for profound investigation, and laborious inquiry. This may be easily accounted for by the peculiar state of the world at the time. Some of the most signal events in the history of mankind had just occurred. The Reformation had but recently broken the chains of papal despotism, and freed the mind of man from the darkness and thralldom in which it had been held for ages. The recent invention of the mariner's compass, the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the discovery of the Western Continent, had opened up boundless views to ambitious enterprises. These things, added to the still recent perfection of the art of printing, and increasing facility of multiplying and circulating thought, had given an impulse to mind such as had never been known before, and to which, indeed, history affords no parallel. Thought could now be no longer suppressed: mind would not be enslaved. The effects were immediately seen in every direction. The compression was no sooner removed than the mind, by its own powerful elasticity, burst from its confinement, and spread with the rapidity of light over the entire surface of human knowledge. New sciences were brought out, new inventions and discoveries were made, the principles of government were thoroughly sifted, and thought upon every subject stretched to its utmost capacity. To this age, be it remembered, we are to refer the names of Hariot, the inventor of algebra; Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood; Napier, the inventor of logarithms; with Hale, Coke, Locke, Bacon, Milton, Shakspeare,

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Algernon Sidney, Tillotson, Chillingworth, Prideaux, and a multitude of others in every department of learning and science. This may be justly considered the age of experiment and discovery, the age of strength and adventure, the age of theory and elements. It remained for the succeeding age to give polish and refinement to the materials which were now produced.

Among the vast multitude of illustrious men in that epoch, it could hardly be expected that *all* should occupy equally conspicuous places in the records of history. All we could expect was, that each should have the portion of notice which his character and attainments merited. It might be expected, too, that some men would have injustice done them by the historian without design: for amid such an array, it might sometimes happen that the less deserving would be brought conspicuously forward, while others, with better claims to notice, would be thrown into the back ground. Admitting all this in excuse for the historians of *that* period, we still think with Mr. Upham, that "there is something very remarkable," to say the least, "in the manner in which the name of Sir Henry Vane is passed over by the principal English writers." In Clarendon he is never named but to be placed in an unfavorable light, except when praise is absolutely extorted from him. Neale, though writing expressly on the Puritans, of whom Sir Henry was a distinguished leader, has made a very sparing use of his name. We might have expected better things from the author of the *Saints' Everlasting Rest* and the *Reformed Pastor*. Yet even Baxter presents him in a light very unenviable and not less unjust. Of the more modern historians, much justice was not perhaps to be expected. They chiefly follow the authors who fall in with their own modes of thought, and have not ordinarily given themselves much trouble in searching the true sources of secret history, or extending their inquiries into musty folios or worm eaten parchments. We ought to except, however, from this charge of injustice, several of our *more* recent historians. Among others, Sir James Mackintosh, and Mr. Hallam in his *Constitutional History of Great Britain*, have helped to rescue his name from undeserved odium. And the excellent author of the *Life and Times of Richard Baxter*, has corrected the mistake into which his subject had fallen. Mr. Orme observes, "Baxter did not understand him, and therefore could not do him justice:" and adds with great force and propriety, "The man who was feared by Cromwell, hated by Charles, and praised by Milton, could not have been a silly fanatic or an unprincipled knave."*

Such omissions, however, can be very easily explained. Sir Henry Vane was a man too far above the spirit of the age he lived in to be duly appreciated. His principles were too pure, and his views too enlightened to be identified with any party in Church or State. He was consequently feared or hated by all. The royalists hated him for his republican principles: the Cromwellians for his opposition to their despotic aims: the Episcopalians because of his contempt of unmeaning ceremonies and idle pageantry in the Church: and a large portion of the Puritans for his liberal senti-

* *Life and Times of Richard Baxter*, vol. i, p. 85. *Note.*

ments on religious liberty and toleration. None of these subjects were at that time properly understood. He was two hundred years in advance of his countrymen. Had he lived in the nineteenth, instead of the seventeenth century, he had been regarded as one of the most pure and patriotic statesmen, a most sincere and devoted Christian, and in every respect a most distinguished man. Of this we have some evidence in the testimonies to which we have referred, Hallam, Orme, and Mackintosh. To these we now add Mr. Upham, who deserves the warmest thanks of the American nation for rescuing such a name from the obscurity in which it was involved, and for bringing to light so remarkable a testimony to the excellence of those principles on which our government is founded. There is, too, a peculiar appropriateness in the *Life of Sir Henry Vane* being written in America by an American. For as he was essentially American in his views, principles, and character, so there is no other nation in the world by whom he would be so correctly, or at least so generally appreciated.

This work will be found not less acceptable to the general reader on another ground. It throws considerable light on one of the most interesting periods of English history, and gives us an insight into the character, the principles, the motives, and the secret designs of that singular being, at once the wonder and execration of his country, Oliver Cromwell. There is no part of English history less generally understood than this. Not many in this day have the patience to wade through Clarendon, Burnet, and Neale, and by a comparison of their conflicting accounts arrive at the truth. A more convenient and much more general mode is to adopt, without examination, the statements of the popular and fascinating Hume. And yet our modern historian is but little entitled to our confidence. Setting aside his religious, or rather anti-religious views, which alone would disqualify him for writing the history of that period; he is now known to have been very indifferent to historical accuracy, and to fidelity of relation. Indeed he seems to have been chiefly intent on producing a popular work, and if he could only secure readers, he seemed to care for little more. We think no one will fail to detect this, if he turn to his account of the trial and execution of the earl of Strafford, Cromwell's dissolution of the Parliament, or the dethronement of Richard Cromwell. On none of these, to say nothing of many other parts, will he find that satisfaction which I fancy he would desire.* The patient and laborious Dr. Lingard has approached as near to impartiality as could be expected: but it must be evident that this is a chapter in British history that a papist was very ill qualified to undertake. Indeed the history of this period yet remains to be written. Nevertheless Mr. Upham has collected some important information, which will be new, at any rate, to the reader of only Hume and Lingard, especially on those events in which the subject of his memoir was concerned.

But not to exhaust our reader's patience by farther prefatory remarks, let us turn to our author.

* See D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, 2d series, 2d vol., article "True Sources of Secret History," for a singular instance of Hume's indolence, and indifference to historical accuracy.

"The family of Vane," he tells us, "was of the ancient nobility, tracing itself clearly back to the earliest dates of English history. Six generations are distinctly recorded before the battle of Poitiers in 1356, when the honor of knighthood was conferred upon Sir Henry Vane, for his valiant behavior. After the lapse of several more generations, one of the branches of the family altered the name Vane to Fane, and gave rise to the noble house of which the earl of Westmoreland is the present representative. The Vanes continued to figure conspicuously in the wars and in parliament, until, in 1611, James the First knighted the father of the subject of this memoir."

Sir Henry Vane, the elder, filled numerous important offices under the governments successively of James and Charles the First. He was member of parliament for Carlisle, cofferer to Prince Charles, and a member of his majesty's privy council. In 1631 he was sent to Denmark as ambassador extraordinary, and subsequently in the same capacity to the court of Gustavus Adolphus; in both of which he concluded satisfactorily important treaties. Finally, in 1639, he was made treasurer of the household, and principal secretary of state.

Sir Henry Vane, the younger, was born in 1612, and was one of a numerous family, through whom he became connected with some of the most powerful houses of the realm. The present duke of Newcastle, the earl of Chichester, and Lord Yarborough are among their descendants. These facts serve to show the position he sustained in society, the influence under which he came forward into the world, and the prospects which opened before him.

He was placed at the collegiate school at Westminster, where at the age of about fifteen, he tells us, "God was pleased to lay the foundation or groundwork of repentance in him." From that time his character as a Christian was marked with uncommon energy and decision. At the age of sixteen he became a gentleman commoner at the university of Oxford; but when the time of matriculation arrived, he refused to take the requisite oath of supremacy and allegiance. This act, by which he forfeited his membership in that community of learning, will be acknowledged as a strong proof of mental independence; and as he never swerved from his principles afterward, it must be regarded as something more than the petulance of a froward boy. There was in it the maturity, and strength, and constancy of more than ordinary manhood.

He now went over to the continent; visited Holland and France, and spent some time in Geneva. While abroad his views of religion were confirmed, and he returned home less than ever disposed to yield to the claims of the hierarchy. His father, finding him rather unmanageable, employed the notorious Archbishop Laud, then bishop of London, to convince him of his errors. But his lordship found himself overmatched in the young Puritan, and as he was at a loss for arguments, he gave him a specimen of what his admirer and eulogist Clarendon calls his "hasty, sharp way of expressing himself." The interview, thus closed with Laud's characteristic violence, no doubt served to strengthen Vane's opposition to

the national Church, and confirm him in the principles he had adopted.*

His situation being now rendered uncomfortable by the excitement against him, it was thought advisable that he should retire for a season from the storm. He determined on a visit to the New-England colonies. He landed at Boston in 1635. The rank, accomplishments, talents, and piety of Mr. Vane secured for him, in an eminent degree, the favor of the colonists, a striking proof of which they gave by electing him the following year to the office of chief magistrate, although but twenty-four years of age. It is this fact, his being governor of Massachusetts, that entitled him, in Mr. Upham's view, to a place in American biography.

He commenced his administration with vigor and sagacity. Of his address the following instance may serve as a specimen:—

“There were, at that time, fifteen large vessels in port. It occurred to the leading men of the colony, that the presence of such a large force of foreign vessels was in itself a formidable and disagreeable circumstance in the condition of a feeble settlement, which could not rely upon the sympathy of the mother country, any more than it could upon the friendship of other powers. It was also obvious to every reflecting person, that the influence of the manners and habits of the officers and men of these ships could not be other than injurious to the morals and social condition of the inhabitants of the town.

“The first act of Governor Vane's administration was to prevent the evils that threatened to spring from this source. Within a week after assuming the government, he accordingly took measures with this view, which illustrate his tact in affairs, and his skill and success in managing men. He invited all the captains of the ships to dine with him, and availed himself of the opportunity to lay the whole case before them. The conversation was conducted with so much frankness, and in such a friendly spirit, that the captains consented, readily and cheerfully, to the following agreement. First, that all inward bound vessels should come to anchor below the fort, and wait for the governor's pass before coming up to the town. Secondly, that before discharging their cargoes, their invoices should in all cases be submitted to the inspection of the government. And thirdly, that none of their crews should ever be permitted to remain on shore after sunset, except under urgent necessity.”†

But no human prospects are unchanging. Governor Vane's

* Of Laud, Clarendon says, “He was a man of great parts and exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular infirmities; the greatest of which was, (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself,) that he believed innocence of heart and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world.” Yet this very man, whose greatest infirmity was too sure a reliance upon his integrity, he tells us in the next page, “when he came into great authority, it may be, retained too keen a memory of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before; and I doubt was so far transported with the same passions he had reason to complain of in his adversaries,” &c. This is a singular instance of the tendency of partizanship to blind the eyes and pervert the moral judgment.—*Hist. of the Revolution*, vol. i, p. 165, Boston edit. 1827.

† Winthrop's *History of New-England*, Savage's edit., vol. i, p. 187.

administration was destined to come to an early close, and to terminate in commotion and dissatisfaction. This fact has been used by his enemies, greatly to his disadvantage. Yet if the circumstances be inquired into, it will be found owing to the same cause which rendered him unpopular at home—his principles were too pure and liberal for the age. The first occasion of dissatisfaction was the ground he took in regard to hoisting the British flag in Boston. A difficulty arose between the colonists and the officers and men of the British vessels lying in the harbor, from the absence of that token of respect to the king. The colonists would have had no objection to perform the part of liege subjects, but for one unlucky circumstance: the British flag contains a representation of the cross; and this was so strongly associated with papacy, that no good Puritan could allow it to pollute his eye sight, or float in the atmosphere he breathed. Governor Vane could not exactly sympathize in their antipathy to this innocent emblem. Seeing the difficulty in which it was likely to involve them with the royal government, believing their scruples absurd and childish, and deeming it no more than right to hoist his majesty's flag in his acknowledged dominions, he maintained the propriety of a compliance; and finally, supported only by Mr. Dudley, he actually hoisted it on his own responsibility, though hugely to the offence of the worthy colonists.

Notwithstanding this petty affair, as it now appears, Governor Vane continued to enjoy the general confidence and affection of the people. Soon afterward he made a tour through the towns on the north and east side of the bay, and "made a public entrance into Salem." Our author deems it very unfortunate that no "authentic records" of this event have been preserved, and to supply the sad omission, draws upon his imagination for a picture, which occupies somewhat more than two pages. As we do not think the fanciful sketch of any greater importance than the event itself, we shall not trouble our readers with it, notwithstanding the compliment it pays to the "*witchery*" of the Salem belles.

A second cause of difficulty between the governor and many of the colonists, grew out of the Hutchinsonian controversy. Governor Vane became the advocate of Mrs. Hutchinson. We need not suppose, however, that he justified all her extravagances or indiscretion; he probably did no more than approve of her general principles, and above all, resisted the measures taken against her. The authorities of the colony, instead of attempting to correct her irregularities and improprieties, determined to proceed against her as a *heretic*! Yet she was accused of heterodoxy only on two points. She insisted that the Holy Spirit dwells personally in all believers: and secondly, that sanctification is no certain evidence of justification. It is not at all clear that she meant any more by the first, than the scriptural doctrine of a spiritual influence in believers: and as to the second, in an age when the length of the hair, the cast of the countenance, the very tones of the voice, as well as peculiar phraseology, were accounted evidences of grace, it must surely be admitted that hypocrisy was rendered very easy, and a warning voice against it was salutary. There was, it is true, something very reprehensible in the manner in which she made known

her sentiments, and expressed herself concerning the clergy. Yet with all the vituperation and singular ribaldry of Mather's *Magnalia*, it is impossible to prove that she was guilty of any very serious error, much less of any flagrant crime. Yet she was examined, tried, convicted, and banished as a heretic. Her end was truly shocking. Having settled, ultimately, after the death of her husband, on Long Island, she was butchered by the Indians with her whole family, excepting only one daughter, who was carried by them into captivity.

These proceedings against this indiscreet and unfortunate woman were entirely contrary to Vane's sentiments on the rights of conscience and religious liberty. By his maintenance of those views and defence of Mrs. H., he gave great umbrage, so that at the next election for governor, Mr. Winthrop was restored, and Vane and his friends ejected from office. The Bostonians, however, still adhered to him, and immediately elected him and some of his warmest adherents to represent them in the General Court. The prevailing party declared their election void; but the Bostonians, with the true spirit of '76, "returned the same men back to the house, by a new election, the very next day!"

To prevent the growth of heresy, a most extraordinary law was now enacted. Many persons, supposed to be favorable to Mrs. Hutchinson's sentiments were shortly expected over; and it was accordingly ordained that a heavy penalty should be exacted from such individuals or towns as should give entertainment to any stranger coming there to reside, unless sanctioned by a member* of the standing council, or two of the magistrates. Such a law was an outrage on all liberty. It was far, however, from being universally approved. Indeed, so strong was the opposition to it, particularly in Boston, that the otherwise excellent Winthrop was constrained to take up his pen in its defence. Mr. Vane was his opponent, and as his production is remarkable for the clearness of its reasoning, and the soundness of its views, especially for that period of the world, we think our readers will be pleased to see it transcribed.

"Winthrop introduced his argument by the following definition of a 'common weale or body politic,' such as the colony of Massachusetts was. 'The consent of a certain company of people' united 'together, under one government, for their mutual safety and welfare.'

"To this definition Vane objects, that 'at the best it is but a description of a commonwealth at large, and not of such a commonwealth as this, (as is said,) which is not only *Christian*, but dependent upon the grant also of our sovereign; for so are the express words of that order of court to which the whole country was required to subscribe.

"Now if you will define a Christian commonwealth, there must be put in, *such* a consent as is according to God; a subjecting to such a government as is according to Christ. And if you will de-

* "The penalty to private persons was forty pounds, and twenty pounds beside for every month they continued in the offence. And any town which gave or sold a lot to any such stranger was subject to a hundred pound penalty."—Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i, p. 64, third edition, 1795.

fine a corporation incorporated by virtue of the grant of our sovereign, it must be such a consent as the grant requires and permits, and in that manner and form as it prescribes, or else it will be defective. The commonwealth here described may be a company of Turkish pirates, as well as Christian professors, unless the consent and government be better limited than it is in this definition; for sure it is, all pagans and infidels, even the Indians here amongst us, may come within this compass. And is this such a body politic as ours, as you say? God forbid. Our commonwealth we fear would be twice miserable, if Christ and the king should be shut out so. Reasons taken from the nature of a commonwealth, not founded upon Christ, nor by his majesty's charters, must needs fall to the ground, and fail those that rely upon them. Members of a commonwealth may not seek out *all* means that may conduce to the welfare of the body, but *all lawful and due* means, according to the charter they hold by, either from God or the king, or from both. Nor may they keep out whatsoever may appear to tend to their damage, (for many things appear which are not,) but such as, upon right and evident grounds, do so appear, and are so in truth."

"Another important point in Winthrop's argument was this:— 'The Churches take liberty (as lawfully they may) to receive or reject at their discretion; yea, particular towns make orders to such effect; why then should the commonwealth be denied the like liberty, and the whole more restrained than any part?'

"The following was Vane's reply. 'Though the question be here concluded, yet it is far from being soundly proved; yea, in truth, we much wonder that any member of a Church should be ignorant of the falseness of the groundwork upon which this conclusion is built; for, should Churches have this power, as you say they have, to receive or reject at *their* discretion, they would quickly grow corrupt enough. *Churches have no liberty to receive or reject at their discretions, but at the discretion of Christ.* Whatsoever is done in word or deed, in Church or commonwealth, must be done in the name of the Lord Jesus. (Col. iii, 17.) Neither hath Church nor commonwealth any other than ministerial power from Christ, (Eph. v. 23,) who is the head of the Church, and the prince of the kings of the earth. (Rev. i, 5.) After that Cornelius and his company had received the Holy Ghost, whereby the right which they had to the covenant was evidenced, it is not now left to the discretion of the Church whether they would admit them thereunto or not. But can any man forbid them water? saith Peter. He commanded them to be baptized. (Acts x, 47, 48.) There is the like reason of admission into Churches. When Christ opens a door to any, there's none may take liberty to shut them out. In one word, there is no liberty to be taken, neither in Church nor commonwealth, but that which Christ gives and is according unto him. (Gal. v, 1.)'

"He thus expressed his views respecting the proper treatment of heretics. 'As for scribes and Pharisees, we will not plead for them; let them do it who walk in their ways; nor for such as are confirmed in any way of error, though all such are not to be denied cohabitation, but are to be pitied and reformed. (Jude 22, 23.) *Ishmael shall dwell in the presence of his brethren.* (Gen. xvi, 12.)'

"Toward the conclusion he sums up his argument in these words.

" 'This law we judge to be most wicked and sinful, and that for these reasons :—

" '1. Because this law doth leave these weighty matters of the commonwealth, of receiving or rejecting such as come over, to the approbation of magistrates, and suspends these things upon the judgment of man, whereas the judgment is God's. (Deut. i, 17.) This is made a groundwork of gross popery. Priests and magistrates are to judge, but it must be according to the law of God. (Deut. xvii, 9, 10, 11.) *That law which gives that, without limitation, to man, which is proper to God, cannot be just.*

" '2. Because here is liberty given by this law to expel and reject those which are most eminent Christians, if they suit not with the disposition of the magistrate ; whereby it will come to pass that Christ and his members will find much worse entertainment among us, than the Israelites did among the Egyptians and Babylonians, than Abram and Isaac did among the Philistines, than Jacob among the Shechemites, yea, even than Lot among the Sodomites. *These all gave leave to God's people to sit down among them*, though they could not claim such right as the king's subjects may. Now that law, the execution whereof may make us more cruel and tyrannical over God's children, than pagans, yea, than Sodomites, must needs be most wicked and sinful.' "

In this place Mr. Upham says of our subject,—

" He well deserves a place in that illustrious company who have taken the lead, in modern times, in asserting the rights of conscience, and in vindicating the principles of Christian liberty. He was contemporaneous with Roger Williams, and was followed by John Milton, William Penn, and John Locke. Not one of them grasped the subject more completely than he did ; and, when we consider that he was zealously engaged in religious discussions, and enthusiastically devoted to what he thought the truth, we can hardly hesitate to yield to him the glorious distinction of having, to a degree that was never surpassed, if ever equalled, comprehended in theory, and developed in practice throughout his whole life, the sacred principles of Christian toleration and religious liberty.

" It is of course impossible to say, who first conceived and apprehended these principles. But it is highly probable that the earliest public and formal expression of them, was in the tract just quoted, which was issued in 1637. Roger Williams was already carrying them into practice in the settlement of Rhode Island, and defended them in 1644 in his celebrated ' Dialogue between Truth and Peace.'

" As writers and as statesmen, Vane and Williams seem to deserve the glory of the earliest promulgation of the principles of toleration. They understood them, in their whole extent, as applicable not only to Christians, but to all men of whatever religion."

The controversy was broken off by Mr. Vane's return to England. He embarked in August, 1637, in company with Lord Ley, son and heir of the earl of Marlborough, who had come over to see the

country. He was accompanied to the vessel by a large concourse of people: parting salutes were fired from the town and the castle, and every indication given of most sincere respect and attachment. Judge then of the dependence to be placed on Baxter's testimony, who says, "He was fain to steal away by night, and take shipping for England, before his year of government was at an end."*

It is gratifying to the heart to find these two worthy men, Winthrop and Vane, subsequently exhibiting so much of the Christian spirit toward each other. We find Vane using his influence at court to obtain important benefits for the people who in many respects had given him just cause of complaint, and the other, bearing honorable testimony to the character of one by whom he had been warmly and successfully opposed in controversy.

We cannot but feel a little surprised at the method adopted by our author to vindicate our ancestors from the charge of inconsistency in this painful part of American history. They left home to avoid persecution, and immediately turned persecutors: they came hither for the enjoyment of religious liberty, yet denied it to those who differed from them. "The remark and reproach," says Mr. Upham, "are equally founded in error. It was for religious liberty in a peculiar sense, that our forefathers contended, and they were faithful to the cause as they understood it." Now we are in some perplexity to know in what "peculiar sense" they understood religious liberty. It seems to us to have been the liberty of following their own consciences, and of persecuting all who saw not as they did. We should be obliged to any one who could show in what "peculiar sense" this differed from the liberty of the papal hierarchy and of the inquisition. I suppose it would have been somewhat difficult to have convinced John Huss and Jerome of Prague that burning them at the stake was a proof of liberty in any sense; yet I do not see but that they had as much liberty as Mrs. Hutchinson and the unoffending Quakers found in New-England, in the seventeenth century. The truth is, as our author immediately observes, that of religious liberty in the abstract they had no idea; it is a doctrine which had not then dawned upon the world. A few only of the superior spirits of the age had formed a conception of it. All that the early settlers of the American colonies thought of and aimed at in this matter was to secure liberty for themselves and for their posterity. This is all that can be said in extenuation of their conduct toward the Quakers and the Hutchinsonians; and this view certainly does palliate in some degree their inconsistency. Yet one cannot but think that they might have learned from their own experience some lessons on the folly, injustice, and cruelty of persecution for matters of conscience; and that their own sufferings in this cause might have taught them to show mercy toward others in similar circumstances. We do not see, therefore, after all, that they are relieved entirely from this charge, nor are we willing to think that "the remark and the reproach are equally founded in error."

Neither can we see the propriety of what is advanced in the succeeding paragraph. They came to New-England, we are told,

* Quoted by Orme, in the Life and Times of Richard Baxter, vol. i, p. 82.

expecting to found a colony who should be all of one mind, and to raise up their children in the same faith, and so perpetuate for ever their own form of worship, without adulteration or commixture with others. Mr. Upham admits, what we all see, that it has been "abundantly proved visionary and impracticable." Yet he observes it was a beautiful vision, and, upon the whole, very creditable to those who indulged in it."—(p. 148-9.) Now we cannot view it in this light. To us it seems that right is more beautiful than wrong, and truth than error. There was more beauty in Vane's theory than in Winthrop's; and there is more of the morally beautiful, according to our view, in the various sects of Christians living together in harmony and good fellowship, "provoking one another to love and good works," than to witness the absence of all disputes only for want of something to dispute about, and to see but one denomination, and that one, as has ever been the case, degraded into a mere political engine—a tool of the state. The Puritans did, indeed, exhibit the morally beautiful in their spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion; in their hardihood and Christian chivalry; in their ardent and vigorous piety. But I do not see such great beauty in their design, considered merely as a design. In their theory they had not advanced a point beyond the dark ages; nor in their spirit, beyond the temper of "the house of mercy." Like the papists, they would have only one religion; and if any man was found who did not fit the Procrustean bedstead, he must either be cropped or stretched, to bring him to the right dimensions; and if he would neither, then he must burn or hang! Now we do not see much beauty in this project; nor do we see how a theory can be creditable to them that formed it, which has been not only "abundantly proved to be visionary and impracticable," but which was also founded in ignorance—in ignorance of the true nature of religious liberty, of the nature of the human mind, and of the natural tendency and course of events. Our Puritan forefathers do indeed command, and most justly too, much of the world's admiration; but it is not their theory which is the object of it, but their general conduct and private characters.

We mean no discourtesy toward the worthy author of an interesting volume, in these observations upon a point in which we differ from him. We make them only because we believe that truth and justice require it, and as reviewers we should not otherwise discharge our obligations. The sentiments seem to us fraught with evil, and, were it not that it is rather late in the world's history for them to find much favor, would be very dangerous. We hope, therefore, that we shall be excused if we cannot join our author to "sympathize with our fathers in the disappointment they so bitterly experienced," in the failure of their project.

But to return to our narrative. After Mr. Vane's arrival in England, "he connected himself in marriage with a lady of distinguished family," our author tells us, but says not of what family, and spent the two or three succeeding years in retirement. He was then elected member of parliament for the town of Hull, in Yorkshire, and appointed soon after, in conjunction with Sir William Russell, treasurer of the navy. In addition to these distinctions he received also the honor of knighthood from the king, and was entitled, to

distinguish him from his father, Sir Henry Vane, of Raby Castle, Knight. After the dissolution of this parliament we find him again returned from Hull, as a member of the famous long parliament, in which he took a leading part from the commencement.

We arrive now at an incident, in the life of our subject, which cannot be read without some regret, but which has not been very fairly represented by our historians. We allude to his share in the trial and condemnation of the unhappy earl of Strafford. No doubt the death of this nobleman was owing in a great measure to the Vanes, and the document obtained by the younger Vane from his father's cabinet had some share in sealing his destiny. Yet this fact has been very improperly stated. Hume gives a most perverted and unwarrantable view, besides speaking of the elder Sir Henry Vane, in language quite unbecoming. Dr. Lingard says the document was "*purloined* from his father's cabinet." It belongs to the historian to treat on the justice or injustice of Strafford's execution; it is our province only to illustrate the part Sir Harry Vane bore in that affair. To form a correct view of the case it should be observed that Wentworth had long persisted in a course of virulent and contemptuous treatment of the elder Vane. He had especially exhibited his opposition in striving to prevent his rival's appointment to the office of principal secretary of state. About the same time, too, he perpetrated an insult upon the feelings of the Vanes, which few perhaps can properly appreciate who are not apprized of the peculiar sentiments and habits pertaining to a long succession of feudal honors and family distinctions. When his patent of nobility was made out, he contrived, by some means or other, to get himself designated by the style and title of earl of Strafford and baron Raby, of Raby Castle. Raby Castle, it will be remembered, was the family mansion of the Vanes, with which all their pride of birth and title was connected. This was a freak of malice on the part of Wentworth, the most dishonorable and puerile; so little and contemptible that it cannot be reconciled with the high pretensions to magnanimity put forth by Strafford's friends in his behalf. To us it looks like an act of a supercilious and haughty, but at the same time, a feeble and paltry spirit. Not even Clarendon, though the avowed apologist for Strafford, and enemy of Vane, could find any excuse for what he calls this most unnecessary provocation. This incident sufficiently explains the state of feeling subsisting between the parties.

By this time the tyrannical, oppressive, and violent behavior of Strafford had created such a sensation in the public mind, and rendered him so universally odious, that he was impeached, by a unanimous vote of the house of commons, of high treason. The charges were founded partly on his conduct as lord president of the north of England, and partly on his illegal exactions and high handed measures as lord lieutenant of Ireland. But the chief odium arose from the fact, that he was believed to be the most violent of all king Charles' counsellors, and the main spring of all the tyrannical movements of that unfortunate monarch. To prove this last, however, was a matter of some difficulty, especially as all the privy counsellors of the king were under an oath of secrecy. It was in

reference to this last point that the document produced by the younger Sir Henry Vane had an important influence. The history of this document is briefly as follows:—

While the elder Sir Henry Vane was with the king in the north, he sent his keys to his secretary, with directions to his son to attend to some private business. Having obtained the papers requisite for this purpose, he felt a curiosity to know what was contained in a small red velvet cabinet that stood with the other boxes. On opening it, he found, among other papers, one in his father's handwriting relative to some matters which had taken place at the privy council. The contents were such as to make a very deep impression upon his mind, and being aware that his father was bound to secrecy, and desiring to have the advice of a confidential friend, he showed the paper to Mr. Pym. Being both impressed with the importance of the discovery, and that it "might do no less than preserve the kingdom," he consented that his friend and fellow patriot should take a copy of it. He then returned the original to its place in safety. This paper contained advice given in council by Strafford to the king to this effect: "Sir, you have done your duty, and your subjects have failed in theirs: and therefore you are absolved from the rules of government, and *may supply yourself by extraordinary ways*: you must prosecute the war vigorously; you have *an army in Ireland with which you may reduce this kingdom.*" This advice to the king to oppress his subjects, and even to make war upon them, decided the destiny of Strafford.

We are sensible that the story loses much of its interest by our abbreviation; and we, therefore, refer the reader to Mr. Upham for farther satisfaction. But we think we have said enough to show that, however we may regret the situation of Sir Henry Vane, and even blame his conduct, still there are few who would not have done the same under similar circumstances. Moreover, the blame is generally, we think, attached to him on wrong grounds—i. e., for surreptitiously obtaining the document. Such was not the fact. He did not search for the paper. He had no idea of its existence. He found it accidentally while searching, out of mere curiosity, among his father's papers. The blame therefore must attach to the indulgence of his curiosity. How far this was dishonorable in a son of his age, situated as he was in relation to his father's affairs, to examine a cabinet, the keys of which had been intrusted to even a domestic, is a point on which there may be a difference of opinion. We suppose the use he made of the paper under such circumstances was altogether different from what it would have been had he sought expressly for it, with malicious intentions.

The allegation of some, that this whole affair was a mere plot between the father and the son, and that the document was a fabrication, as Clarendon seems to insinuate, is sufficiently disproved by Mr. Upham. Indeed we think that any careful reader of even Clarendon's prejudiced account will discover too much verisimilitude in the facts related, to allow him to doubt their authenticity. As to the charge of Lingard, that the document was procured at the commencement of the trial; it is inexcusably false. It happened, as Mr. Pym stated, several months prior to the meeting of parliament, by which the lord lieutenant was impeached. In addition to

this, the circumstances of the disclosure, the amazement of the father, the embarrassment of the son, the vote of the house approving the conduct of the latter, and requesting his father to be reconciled to him, and the displeasure of the father notwithstanding, and the consequent coldness between them, bear so much the air of truth, as strongly to corroborate the whole affair. In conclusion, we think there is abundant proof of Strafford's guilt, insomuch that even Lingard admits that he was "the most able and devoted champion of the claims of the crown:" and the intelligent reader will understand this to mean, the vindicator of Charles' tyranny and oppression, "and the most dangerous enemy to the liberties of the people." And though we rejoice that a milder spirit characterizes the present age, and regret the sanguinary character of the ancient laws on the subject of treason, and especially condemn all executions for constructive and accumulative treason, yet such as the laws then were, and as they were then understood and applied, we see not how the verdict in Strafford's case could have been otherwise. We cannot decide upon the justness of this or any other political measure by a reference to the spirit and laws of our own age. We must transport ourselves a few centuries backward, and become coeval with the parties. In this day if a statesman be convicted of "high crimes and misdemeanors," he is dismissed from office, and sent to languish out his existence in obscurity and neglect. In that day every one knew that there was but a step from the cabinet to the tower, and from the tower to the block.

Those who are fond of tracing the hand of Divine Providence in human affairs, will not fail to remark the coincidence in the present case. The Vanes and the people were the objects of Strafford's superlative contempt—the subjects of his injustice and oppressions. The people, by means of their representatives in the house of commons, and the Vanes, were the selected instruments of his destruction.

From this time Sir Harry Vane became still more decided in his opposition to the encroachments of the crown, and in his attachment to the cause of the people: so that on the actual commencement of hostilities we find him enrolled on the side of the Parliament. In June, 1643, he was appointed one of the commissioners to Scotland to form an alliance with that kingdom. On this occasion was formed "*the solemn league and covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honor and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*"* Whatever was thought of the object and character of this instrument, all seem to have given no small praise to Vane for uncommon diplomatic skill in effecting the treaty; and we apprehend few will be found in the present day who will deny him the praise of perfect honesty and uprightness in his intentions.

It is much to be regretted that popular leaders of rebellions, however good their cause, and excellent their original principles, have too often been so elated by their prosperity as to abandon themselves to the impulses of a reckless ambition, and madly trample upon the rights of the people which they first undertook to defend.

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv, p. 1573.

Cæsars, Cromwells, and Bonapartes are the natural production of every soil. A Washington stands alone, the common property of the world, but the peculiar glory of America. Sir Henry Vane soon found himself associated with a class of men for whom he felt but little sympathy. Factious, fanatical, unprincipled, and ambitious, they resorted to expedients which he could not tolerate. But he was embarked upon the ocean of popular tumult, and a storm was raised which he could not quell. In 1648 was concluded the treaty between the Parliament and the unhappy Charles, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight. Although Vane opposed this measure as one of the commissioners, and voted against it in parliament, yet as soon as it was adopted, he considered the war at an end, and the king lawfully and actually restored. To the violence of Cromwell, therefore, he was entirely opposed. He no less abhorred the audacious and high-handed measure of impudent tyranny, called "Col. Pride's Purge," although it excluded his opponents from the parliament, and left only such as he had identified with the cause of liberty. There is, perhaps, no transaction in his life which shows more strongly than this, the independence of his mind and the purity of his principles. At the very moment when his own party had gained an uncontrollable power, and the views which he had contended for were about to be carried fully out, and he was to witness a practical experiment of his favorite theory; at that precise moment he stood alone and unaided against his entire party, and utterly refused to participate in their triumph. Disgusted and shocked at human perfidy, and heart-stricken by so palpable a violation of all sound liberty, he withdrew from the arena of conflict, and sought repose in private life. In the violent transactions, therefore, of Cromwell's administration, especially in the bloody tragedy of the 30th Jan., 1649, he had no participation, nor could he ever be made to approve them.

After the death of the unhappy and misguided monarch, he was again induced to mingle in public affairs. He was appointed member of the council of state, and was for some time its president, in which capacity, and as treasurer and commissioner for the navy, he held more power in his hands, probably, than any person in the kingdom excepting only the protector. It was in this situation he weaved for himself another chaplet of glory, which shall enwreath his name with lustre while history endures. He voluntarily relinquished, for the good of the public, the profits of his office, when they amounted to no less than thirty thousand pounds sterling per annum.

But Sir Harry Vane and Oliver Cromwell were too dissimilar in their views and principles to continue long in close union. An incident soon occurred which drove him again into retirement, and as this is closely connected with the dissolution of the long parliament, it may not be uninteresting to give a hasty sketch of it.

As one of a committee to consider the state of the representation, he reported a bill for a *reform* in parliament. In some features this bill bore a strong resemblance to the celebrated reform bill of recent date. Then, as now, the national representation was found defective. Boroughs which were of sufficient importance at the settlement of the kingdom to have a member in parliament, had sunk into

utter insignificancy, or as the modern phrase is, had become "rotten." Towns meanwhile had arisen into prime importance to which a representation had never been assigned.* Moreover, the original qualification for voting, viz., the holding of real estate in fee simple, was no longer just. For owing to the vast impulse given to trade by the discoveries already mentioned, many, by successful enterprise, had become wealthy, who possessed no landed property. But this new order of men had no fair representation in parliament, although their interests were rising rapidly to a par with those of the "lords of the soil." The two principal points, therefore, aimed at by Vane's bill, were, first, by breaking up the rotten borough system, to secure a representation of the towns more in accordance with the relative importance they had acquired: and secondly, by enlarging the elective franchise to provide for the representation of a class of citizens who had arisen since the constitution of the kingdom was formed. To this we may add, a removal of denominational distinctions and an admission of all sects to equal privileges.

It is very clear that the passage of this bill would lead to a remodelling of the parliament. Many members would lose their seats; and the whole must be submitted to the ordeal of public opinion. As Cromwell's ambitious aims began already to be suspected, he had good reason to fear and shun such a test. It is at least probable that it would have occasioned the overthrow of his authority. He had sagacity enough to perceive this, and he took his measures to prevent it.

The catastrophe we give in the words of our author, both on account of the interest of the scene, and as a happy specimen of his manner of relation.

"On the 20th of April, 1653, the house having concluded all the preliminary measures respecting the bill, nothing remained but to give it its third reading, and engross and enact it. A motion was made, that these forms be forthwith observed and the bill become a law; in the event of which motion passing, the long parliament would, according to the provision of the bill, be dissolved and a new one summoned. Harrison, who was in Cromwell's confidence on

* * The house of commons was first organized by the earl of Leicester in the reign of Henry III., A. D. 1265. Of course, circumstances, and especially the wonderful importance which the manufacturing arts were acquiring, produced strange alterations on the face of the country, and in the relative importance of towns. Hence it was that a mere hamlet sometimes sent one, or perhaps two members to parliament, while large and growing manufacturing towns sent none. Out of this another evil arose. In some cases all the real estate in such a borough had passed, by purchase or otherwise, into the hands of one person; and as there was no other qualified voter, his single voice sent a member to parliament, or, if he do not choose to do his work by proxy, he might go himself. This will explain the phrases, "purchasing a vote," and "buying a seat in parliament," which we find in English political writings, and explains Mr. Upham's assertion, that "a seat in parliament is worth a thousand pounds per annum." At least I know not what other meaning to attach to it, since the privilege of a seat, I believe, involves no pecuniary emolument. But this must be a very uncertain standard, as the value of a seat, in this sense, must depend on the amount of real property in the borough to which the privilege appertains, and this of course is exceedingly various. But perhaps it only means that the right of nomination to parliament renders the estate more desirable, and thereby raises its nominal value; or, in other words, makes it bring a higher price in the market.

this occasion, rose to debate the motion, merely in order to gain time. Word was carried to Cromwell, that the house were on the point of putting the final motion; and Colonel Ingoldsby hastened to Whitehall to tell him that, if he intended to do any thing decisive, he had no time to lose.

"Cromwell at last, and evidently against the most powerful struggles of his conscience, roused himself for the occasion, and repaired to the house. He was dressed in a suit of plain black, with grey worsted stockings. He took his seat, and appeared to be listening to the debate. As the speaker was about to rise to put the question, Cromwell whispered to Harrison, 'Now is the time; I must do it.' As he rose, his countenance became flushed and blackened by the terrific passions which the crisis awakened. With the most reckless violence of manner and language, he abused and aspersed the character of the house; and, after the first burst of his denunciations had passed, suddenly changing his tone, he exclaimed, 'You think, perhaps, that this is not parliamentary language; I know it; nor are you to expect such from me.' He then advanced out into the middle of the hall, and walked to and fro, like a man beside himself. In a few moments he stamped upon the floor, the doors flew open, and a file of musketeers entered. As they advanced, Cromwell exclaimed, looking over the house, 'You are no parliament; I say you are no parliament; begone, and give place to honest men.'

"His whole manner was like that of a person who had surrendered himself up to a design which his mind and heart equally condemned. To stifle the voice of reason and conscience, he seemed to resort to the most extravagant gestures, exclamations, and actions. He sought refuge from the compunctions of his better nature, in the transports of blind fury. Raising his voice to a loud pitch, he poured forth invectives and reproaches against the leading members, calling them by name, in language so gross and indecent as would have shocked the most vulgar and depraved ears. He ordered the speaker to leave the chair; and, when his eye fell upon the mace, he shouted out, 'What have we to do with that fool's bauble? Take it away.'

"While this extraordinary scene was transacting, the members, hardly believing their own ears and eyes, sat in mute amazement, horror, and pity of the maniac traitor who was storming and raving before them. At length Vane rose to remonstrate, and call him to his senses; but Cromwell, instead of listening to him, drowned his voice, repeating with great vehemence, and as though drunk with the desperate excitement of the moment, 'Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! Good Lord, deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!' He then seized the records, snatched the bill from the hands of the clerk, drove the members out at the point of the bayonet, locked the doors, put the key in his pocket, and returned to Whitehall. On reaching his palace, he related the exploit, and in conclusion observed, 'When I went to the house, I did not think to have done this. But, perceiving the Spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood!'"

Sir Harry Vane now retired to his seat of Raby Castle, to wait

until circumstances should again call him forth as an advocate of the people's rights. In this retirement he produced some of his most important works. These were chiefly of a theological character; but one was political, or more properly, of that politico-theological kind which characterized the age. This was the celebrated tract called "A Healing Question," the object of which was to expose the designs of Cromwell, and to induce him to pause in his tyrannical career. This contains many valuable sentiments on liberty, and exhibits a wonderfully clear view of a subject at that time little understood. It recognizes the cardinal principles on which is based the constitution of the United States. This tract aroused the wrath of my lord protector, and poor Sir Harry had to pay the penalty by an imprisonment for some months in Caresbrook Castle, together with sundry efforts to wrest from him his estates, and involve himself and his family in utter ruin.

But other events were soon to take place. In 1658 the protector resigned his sceptre and his ill-gotten power, and went to give an account of his deeds at the bar of Heaven. Sir Henry Vane now came forward again to claim a seat in parliament. He was elected by a plurality of votes from his old borough of Hull; but the dependents on government managed to keep him from his just claim. The same thing occurred at Bristol. At length he was elected from Whitchurch, in Hampshire. Immediately he took an active part in business, and his talents and zeal made him a distinguished leader of his party. His object was to overturn the protectorate, and institute a republic. His cause was gaining ground. Richard, urged by his partisans, resolved to put an end to the discussion by dissolving the body. But the house was prepared for him. When the usher of the black rod came to execute his commission, he found the door locked. It was on this occasion that Sir Harry Vane delivered a speech which hurled Richard from his throne. It is remarkable that his agency in this transaction, as well as the speech itself, should have been passed over in silence by all our modern historians. Considering the circumstances under which it was delivered, it may be justly cited as a proof of its author's ability, learning, readiness, and eloquence. If we remember, too, that he was in the minority, and Richard, with the military power still at his disposal, almost within hearing, it may be regarded as an evidence of no small degree of moral courage. Our readers, I am sure, will pardon its introduction, for the sake of its excellence.

"Mr. Speaker,—

"Among all the people of the universe, I know none who have shown so much zeal for the liberty of their country, as the English, at this time, have done. They have, by the help of Divine Providence, overcome all obstacles, and have made themselves free. We have driven away the hereditary tyranny of the house of Stuarts, at the expense of much blood and treasure, in hopes of enjoying hereditary liberty, after having shaken off the yoke of kingship; and there is not a man among us who could have imagined that any person would be so bold as to dare attempt the ravishing from us that freedom which has cost us so much blood and so much labor. But so it happens, I know not by what misfortune, we are

fallen into the error of those who poisoned the Emperor Titus to make room for Domitian, who made away Augustus that they might have Tiberius, and changed Claudius for Nero.

"I am sensible these examples are foreign from my subject, since the Romans, in those days, were buried in lewdness and luxury; whereas the people of England are now renowned, all over the world, for their great virtue and discipline; and yet suffer an idiot, without courage, without sense, nay, without ambition, to have dominion in a country of liberty.

"One could bear a little with *Oliver Cromwell*, though, contrary to his oath of fidelity to the parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgment and passions might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions. He held under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general.

"But as for *Richard Cromwell*, his son, who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he has a sword by his side, but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty nation who could never make a footman obey him? Yet, we must recognize this man as our king, under the style of Protector!—a man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master."

Richard immediately resigned, and spent the rest of his long life in a private station, which he adorned by his amiable disposition and social virtues; and displayed more solid wisdom, though less splendor of talent, than his misguided and ambitious father.

The events immediately following we may pass over in silence. On the restoration of Charles, Sir Henry Vane was of course one of the first victims. He was committed to various places of confinement, all of which he consecrated by his prayers, and by the employment of his pen in the cause of religion and human happiness. His compositions at this time breathe delightfully the pure and elevated spirit of a Christian martyr. His "Meditations on Death," and his letter to his wife, contain some sweet and touching thoughts; full of affection and Christian resignation. "Death," he says, "is not to be feared and fled from, as it is by most, but sweetly and patiently to be waited for, as a thing natural, reasonable, and inevitable. This, * * * * as it gives us a fuller fruition of Christ, is a very great gain, that the sooner we are possessors of the better."

Writing to his wife he says:—

"This dark night and black shade which God hath drawn over his work, in the midst of us, may be (for aught we know) the ground color to some beautiful piece that he is exposing to light."

Again:—"If the storm against us grow still higher and higher, so as to strip us of all we have, the earth is still the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; he hath a good storehouse for us to live upon."

"I know nothing that remains to us but, like a tossed ship in a storm, to let ourselves be tossed and driven with the winds, till He that can make these storms to cease, and bring us into a safe haven, do work out our deliverance for us."

We have not time to go through the interesting trial which took place soon after writing the letter to his wife. It was, perhaps, as perfect a mockery of justice, and as shameless a display of corruption, as ever disgraced the annals of jurisprudence. The prisoner defended himself with wonderful ability and presence of mind; justified himself from the allegations against him, and repelled every attack, and all this though he was denied the benefit of counsel, and was not permitted to see his indictment before it was read in court, nor to have a copy of it afterward. His condemnation was evidently predetermined; and it is to the disgrace of the age that a court was found sufficiently infamous to gratify the malice of an abandoned monarch. And what was the ground of his condemnation? The charge was treason; though he all along acted by authority of parliament. But the real ground was a fear of his eminent abilities and a hatred of the purity of his principles.* Charles and his minions could never feel themselves secure while such men as Vane were about them. And to send him to the block was an offering to their libertinism in politics and in morals.

But two days intervened between his sentence and execution. This time he spent in exhortations to his friends and family, and in various offices of devotion. To one who reminded him of some promise of Scripture, he replied, "I bless the Lord, I have not had any discomposure of spirit these two years; but I do wait upon the Lord, till he shall be pleased to put an end to these days of mine, knowing that I shall change for the better: for in heaven there is an innumerable company of angels, the spirits of just men made perfect, and Jesus, the blessed Mediator of the new covenant."

When about to part with his wife and children, "I bless God, by the eye of faith I can see through all my relations to Mount Sion, and there I shall need none of them."

Some one suggested that by making submission to the king perhaps his life might be spared. He replied:—

"If the king does not think himself more concerned for his honor and word, than I am for my life, let him take it. Nay, I declare that I value my life less in a good cause, than the king can do his promise. He is so sufficiently obliged to spare my life, that it is fitter for him to do it, than for me to seek it."

When they came to take him to the scaffold, one said, there must be a sled. The martyr replied, "Any way, how they please, for I long to be at home, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, which is best of all." On the way, many prayed aloud for blessings on his head. To one who inquired how he was, he replied,

* Bishop Burnet, though he did not rightly appreciate Vane's character, asserts that this was the real ground of his execution. "Above all," his words are, "the great opinion that was had of his parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made the court think it necessary to put him out of the way."—Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i, p. 180. London, 1818.

"Never better in all my life." Another replied, "How should he do ill that suffers for so glorious a cause?" Some said, "How cheerful he is!" Others, "He does not look like a dying man!"

At the scaffold, on his speaking to the concourse, such was the dread of the effect, that trumpets were sounded and drums beaten to drown his voice. Sir John Robinson,* and others, rushed upon him, to tear his papers from his hand. He kept them off, however, and tearing them up himself, handed them to a friend, from whom they were taken by violence. The whole scene upon the scaffold was most brutal and shocking; during all which the prisoner maintained a most surprising and heroic composure. Such was the admiration his conduct excited, that even a zealous royalist exclaimed, "He dies like a prince!"

After this he offered a prayer, "which for sublimity, truth, simplicity, and pathos," was perhaps never excelled by any similar human composition, in ancient or modern times. Then laying his head upon the block, he said, "Father, glorify thy servant in the sight of men, that he may glorify thee in the discharge of his duty to thee and to his country." Then at one blow the executioner severed his head from his body.

Thus perished Sir Henry Vane the younger, on the 14th day of June, 1662, in the 50th year of his age. As a pure and upright patriot, a most skilful statesman, a profound and original thinker, a most zealous and conscientious Christian, all in one, he was perhaps never excelled by man. His death is not to be classed with those of Laud and Strafford. Theirs were the reward, justly or unjustly is not the question, of their crimes. He died for his virtues, for even his enemies could prove nothing against him, nor even frame their allegations without self-contradictions. As he was a terror to tyrants while he lived, so his death shook the throne of the abandoned Charles to its very foundations. Nothing disgusted the kingdom with the royal administration so much as the manner of Vane's death. Even the royalists confessed that the "king lost more by that man's death than he will get again for a good while." But while the royalists trembled, the republicans exulted. They regarded Vane as a champion and a martyr, whose death shed more glory upon their cause than a thousand lives could have done, and gave them an advantage over their enemies which they were not speedily to lose. No doubt the victim himself foresaw this; and it served to render him more willing to meet the blow, and helped to fortify him for the occasion. Surely he has his reward: for all "future generations shall call him blessed," while they read an important lesson in his history. Well, therefore, does Mr. Upham apply to him the felicitous line of the ancient poet,

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."

We are aware that we have drawn largely upon the facts in this biography. Yet we have by no means exhausted the subject. We therefore cheerfully refer the reader to the work itself for more detailed information, as well as to form a more correct knowledge of Vane's talents and sentiments, especially his sentiments on civil and religious liberty, a subject ever dear to the hearts of Americans.

He will find the book written in a sprightly, agreeable style, sometimes perhaps rather feeble and diffuse, yet fitted to occupy a highly creditable position in our national literature. In the sentiments he will find very little to reject. On one or two points we have had occasion to differ from him; and to these we may add his views on the death of Charles I. We cannot quite admit that the condemnation of this unfortunate monarch was not "a more shocking transaction than the condemnation of any other public or *private* criminal." As persons in authority are peculiarly exposed to the odium of the populace, and to the shafts of malevolence, so their lives ought to be more sacredly guarded. Besides, their very position in society engrosses a larger portion of public attention, invests them with greater interest, and renders them more important. Their death produces a concussion of feeling and an uprooting of confidence that that of a private person would not. So the world has since learned. So we should all feel if a president of the United States were the victim. To the sentiment quoted from the statesman Fox, as to its elevation of the British character in the eyes of other nations, we have no objection; only we could wish it had been intimated that the same end would have been more wisely, more mercifully, and quite as effectually answered, by doing as England did subsequently to James II., and France to Charles X. We think that Charles had justly forfeited his crown; but not the head that wore it. However, it is not the only case in which the wisdom of the world came some centuries too late. It was so in the case of Strafford and Laud; but with this difference between the cases: their death was in accordance with the laws and usages of the land; that of the king was a violation of both.

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THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST IN HIS FOLLOWERS.

BY WILLIAM M. WILLETT, A. M.

THE whole system of Divine economy, both Jewish and Christian, is founded in a spirit of labor and self-denial. It was in this spirit that Abram "went out," not knowing whither he was going; and in this spirit he hastened, at the Divine mandate, to offer up Isaac. In the same spirit Moses chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. As Abram and Moses, the leading instruments in the hands of God in the establishment of the Jewish economy, were moved by a spirit of labor and sacrifice, so Jesus Christ, in the exercise of the same spirit, "pleased not himself." He was rich, but became poor; he was surrounded with all the glory of heaven, but he took upon him the form of a servant: he was the everlasting Father,—the mighty God, but he was "manifest in the flesh;" his throne was from everlasting, but he became "obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

The injunctions of the Saviour are in accordance with the spirit which he himself manifested, and which Abram and Moses, and all his true followers under every dispensation have shown. "If any

man will be my disciple, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me." "He that saveth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life, for my sake and the Gospel's, shall find it."

As an internal experience of vital Christianity can be *received* only by a sacrifice of every inclination, appetite, and practice opposed to its pure requirements—as the eye that offends must be plucked out, and a hand that offends must be cut off,—so can it be *retained* in its purity and power only by exhibiting the same spirit of sacrifice and self-denial in all future life. A Christian should no more seek to please himself than a soldier should look for ease and safety in the field of battle. The question should be, not how he may gratify his own inclinations, but how he may most effectually aid the great object for which Christ died and rose again. And wherever a person is truly imbued with the Spirit of Christ this will be the case. When Saul of Tarsus, was arrested by the Spirit in his mad career, the first question he asked was, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" And when labors connected with great personal hazard and sacrifice, were pointed out to him, he said, "None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto me, if I may but finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus to testify the Gospel of the grace of God." So must the missionary go into heathen lands, if he would be successful in the spirit of labor and sacrifice. But are missionaries only called to labor and to suffer for Christ? Is not every Christian bound to exhibit the same spirit? Can the disciples of Christ sit down in inactivity; or, if they have the means, sleep on beds of down—pamper the appetite—indulge a taste for extravagance and show, and not sacrifice a single sensual indulgence for the cause of Christ? If Christians generally are not called to make the same personal sacrifices—if they are not required to leave their country, home, kindred, and friends, to preach the "unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ"—the greater is their obligation to make sacrifices at home, to forego some of their numerous comforts, in order to aid those who are called to make greater personal sacrifices, and so labor with them in the great work of converting the world. What is it constitutes a Christian? Is it not the subjugation of the will to God? And is not the subjugation of the will the foundation of every Christian effort and sacrifice? So that a spirit of labor and self-denial is inseparable from Christianity. The name of a Christian—a disciple—is synonymous with that of a soldier. His state is a disciplinary one; and it is only by constantly repeated acts of labor and self-denial that he is fitted to acquit himself in that state. St. Paul says, "They that strive for the mastery are temperate in all things: now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible." Shall they who strove for the mastery in some bodily exercises, which profited but little, inure themselves for the struggle by the greatest self-denial, and Christians, who have a greater work to perform, and whose reward is incomparably more glorious, not exercise a universal temperance for the accomplishment of their object?—shall they shrink from any labor or self-denial, if they may but glorify God by doing good to Zion, by building up the walls of Jerusalem? What momentary earthly gratification should stand in competition with a sense of duty, or

the advancement of Christ's kingdom! Is it to be supposed that Regulus upon his return from Rome to Carthage with the sure prospect of a most painful death before him, was disposed to seek on his journey any of those gratifications which under other circumstances might have contributed to his enjoyment? Sustained by a sense of duty, by conscious integrity, and by a love for his country, he travelled back to Carthage with a soul elevated above every low consideration. He had but one object in view—to die rather than dishonor his name, or advise his country to a measure which would prove detrimental to its prosperity or renown. So Christians, with the spirit that distinguished their Master, should count no toil laborious, no sacrifice dear, when such labor and sacrifices fall within the range of their duty in their Master's service. They are to have but one object in view, *to live not unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them and rose again*; and in accomplishing this object every personal advantage and gratification is to be laid out of the question. It will be enough for them to rest when the battle is fought—when the race is run; until then let their lives be eminently lives of labor and self-denial.

The principles of Christianity, when traced to their source, are frequently at variance with the practices of those who pretend to carry them out into common use. Who, for instance, in the age perhaps of Constantine, or amid the splendor and power of the papal court, or wherever religion has been supported, not by its own intrinsic excellence, but by the extraneous assistance of wealth and power, can discover in the spirit and lives of the great number of those professing its sublime, energetic, and mortifying doctrines, that activity and zeal—that submission to the will of God—that deadness to the world, which our Saviour exemplified in his own life, and enforced in his doctrines? When we look at the indolent and luxurious lives of such—the richness of their attire—the expensiveness of their furniture—their profuse and costly entertainments—in a word, “their conformity to the world,” are we not ready to inquire, Can these be the disciples of Him who “went about doing good,”—who had not where to lay his head—whose life was one of self-denial, in food, in sleep, in almost every personal enjoyment—in order that he might fully accomplish the work which his Father had given him to do? What resemblance do we discover between the “ensample” which Christ left, and the conduct of those who thus profess themselves his disciples—who from the badge they assume undertake to carry out the principles of Christianity in their daily lives and conversation? Such opposition of principle and practice—such a stumbling block in the way of the ungodly—it is the duty of those who really wish to show by their labor and sacrifices that they have the mind of Christ, to remove out of the way, by exhibiting in their conduct the humble, holy, and self-denying spirit of Him who came from heaven to earth to give his life a ransom for us, and to be an “example that we should follow in his steps.”

If such be the spirit which Christians in their individual capacity should manifest,—such too is the spirit which should characterize Churches in their collective capacity. A Church is a spiritual house, composed of lively stones—of those who are “sanctified in

Christ Jesus, called to be saints," united together for mutual benefit. In this capacity they are enabled to act with the greater efficiency, like a well organized and well disciplined army with banners—terrible and splendid—arrayed against "principalities and powers—against spiritual wickedness in high places." It follows from this, of course, that Churches in their united capacity are to exhibit the same spirit as a Christian in his separate and individual sphere.—Churches, then, should be distinguished for their zeal, for the abundance of their labors, for self-denial, for patience, for perseverance in well doing, for incorruptness in doctrine, for charity. The glory of Churches should be that not only a few, but all their members walk with Christ in white—with undefiled garments. So it was with the Church at Jerusalem. So it should be with all Churches now. Being "of one heart and of one soul," continuing steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and "in breaking of bread and prayers;" every Church, of whatever name, like that of Philadelphia, should hold fast the "little strength" which it hath—labor to increase it—have souls "added to it daily of such as shall be saved," and so "hold fast" as not to lose its "crown."

This is the spirit we desire much to see in Christians and Churches—a spirit of labor which smiles at obstacles—of self-denial which rejoices at every opportunity of foregoing personal ease and comfort, for the sake of that cause which is dearer than life itself.—Should this spirit, so pre-eminently the spirit of Christ, prevail generally and powerfully as it did in the commencement of Christianity, the result would be glorious. The same cause operating now as when Christianity commenced, and which then produced such astonishing effects, would be attended now with the same blessed consequences.

We have witnessed in modern times the effects produced by this principle of self-denial and labor, to a great extent, by two celebrated sects, in the diffusion of the Christian religion. The motives however which influenced these two sects to sacrifice, unparalleled since the days of the apostles, were indeed widely different. We refer to the Jesuits and the Moravians. In the case of the Jesuits, their zeal, their labors, their sacrifices, and their astonishing perseverance to accomplish their objects have astonished the world, jealous as they have been of their motives and purposes. When we consider the results produced by their labors and sacrifices, we are disposed to exclaim, What an amount of good might have been actually accomplished had all Christians exerted the same zeal and perseverance in promoting and diffusing the simple doctrines of the Gospel and the pure spirit of experimental godliness! In the contemplation, however, of the blessed spirit of Christ, as exhibited in the operations of the Moravians, we see a glorious result. In the short period of a century they have succeeded, by a handful of devoted, self-denying men, to establish the Gospel in some of the coldest and most barren climes—in countries whose very atmosphere was impregnated with death—among the rudest and most barbarous tribes—tribes sunk lowest in the scale of civilization, as well as among the ignorant and fettered slaves. With a spirit which bore the indelible mark of its Divine original—wherever nature presented the most formidable obstacles—wherever the human race was to be

found in its most forlorn and degraded condition, there these faithful servants of their Divine Master proclaimed the name of Jesus Christ, as the power and wisdom of God, to the salvation of every one that believeth. And every where, with but few exceptions, they have succeeded—have failed only when opposed by obstacles beyond human control. And yet how small is the Moravian Church! What a lesson is this to us—all of us, who are so “slow to learn and reluctant to understand.” If that small society, which in Europe and America is scarcely known out of its humble enclosure, and whose means have always been so extremely limited, have effected so great a work among the heathen, chiefly by a spirit of personal labor and sacrifice, aided by Divine grace, what would be the incalculable result were the whole body of Christ—the Church, throughout the world, to be animated by the same spirit? This spirit can be exhibited at home as well as abroad—if not on so grand a scale, and at so much personal hazard, yet still daily exhibited by Christians and Christian Churches in that sphere in which the providence of God has placed them. Let the Churches be animated by this spirit, and if there be no amalgamation of the distinctive principles of the various sects in one general scheme, there will, nevertheless, be a union of design—a concentration of effort, in spreading the Christian religion “from sea to sea; and from the rivers to the ends of the earth.” Hasten, O Lord, this Gospel day—this day of the Son of man! Our limits warn us to bring this part of our subject to a close. We proceed, therefore, to point out more in *detail* the efforts, acts, and self-denial, which are, after all, the truest and best tests of pure vital principles. In doing this, *we* may observe,

First, That Christians should appropriate their property to the cause of God:

In the practice of the first Christians, without considering it as a model for our imitation, we may see the natural tendency of Christianity, when it is felt in its full force, to open and expand the heart, and to subdue that selfishness which is one of the strongest passions of our nature. Shortly after the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of pentecost, “the multitude of those that believed were of one heart, and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common.” This is to be regarded as a great triumph of Christianity over the selfishness of the human heart—a triumph effected not by any ulterior views of self-interest, but simply in reference to the glory of God in the extension of his kingdom.

Few feelings are stronger than the love of property. And yet here we find a large body of individuals influenced by the “unsearchable riches of Christ,” overcoming these feelings—relinquishing their individual rights—calling none of those things which they possessed their own, but having every thing in common. That this state of things did not continue to exist, may be ascribed to various causes. That it did exist, and that its existence can be clearly traced to the direct influence of the Gospel, shows, and will show to all ages, that the tendency of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is to lead Christians to appropriate their property in order to send the “Gospel to every creature.”

Here, then, is the first fundamental law of Christianity, the law of love, producing love to our neighbor, and leading to acts of effort and self-denial, in appropriating our property for the good of our neighbor. This consideration should lead Christians generally to inquire how far they are influenced by the same spirit in appropriating their property to the advancement of Christ's kingdom upon the earth.

The obligations of duty implied in these remarks, extend to all classes of Christians. Even the poor are not excepted. If the poor widow of Zarephath, with her handful of meal and cruise of oil, and the poor widow of the Gospel with her two mites, gave of their substance to this cause, there can be but few whose circumstances wholly exempt them from this duty, or, I might rather say, this invaluable privilege—for he who feels that love for souls which brought his Master from heaven to earth, will, in the poorest circumstances, seek occasions to cast his mite into the treasury, rather than make excuses for withholding it.

If it be objected that the two cases above stated are extraordinary ones, and not to be adduced as forming a general rule for the imitation of the poor, we answer, that we are not so fully sensible of the force of this objection. In one particular, and in *but* one, the cases are extraordinary. They exhibit the extraordinary strength of the faith of these individuals. They both believed in God, believed they were doing their duty, and believed that He who "takes care of the sparrow, would much more take care of them." The records of the Church in all ages, without doubt, present numerous instances of a similar character. The orphan house of Halle, in Germany, was founded by means but little beyond the widow's handful of meal, and cruise of oil; and the Moravian missionaries acted as the widow did with her two mites, when they set out for Greenland without money, without "two coats," without any provision for future emergencies.

Great importance should be attached to the offerings of the pious poor. They may actually go farther, and do more real good than the splendid gifts of those who do not act from the same holy motives, or than even the richer gifts of those who do not profess the same degree of faith as their humbler and poorer brethren. Giving their "all" to promote the great work of the conversion of the world, while it strengthens in the poor that faith and dependence in God for the want of which our Saviour rebuked his disciples, when he said, "O ye of little faith," is in accordance with the economy of God's ancient people; and when the mite, whatever it be, is accompanied with their prayers, and doubtless is followed by their pious breathings to distant lands, it possesses a real value in the estimation of all who confide in the Divine promises. In this age of missionary enterprise, who can tell the good which may result from a penny, freely contributed by one who can give no more, while it is accompanied with faith and prayer, and continually watered, perhaps in some solitary widow's habitation, with tears. A penny will buy a tract which contains ten pages. This tract may be the means of enlightening the mind of the sovereign of some mighty heathen empire. Who can tell but a tract, bought with the penny of the believing poor, may be the means of the conversion of the mighty

Asiatic despot, and of the consequent diffusion of Christianity among three hundred millions of our fellow beings.

There is nothing extravagant in this view; faith is the same powerful and productive principle in all ages. It is not one thing in Abraham and another in his children. See what resulted from the faith of Abraham! He was but a single individual, and "him as good as dead;" and yet there "sprang from him so many as the stars of the sky for multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea-shore, innumerable." So it is impossible to trace beforehand the effects which may follow from the offerings of the poor, thrown into the treasury, in the spirit of that faith by which "Abraham believed God, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness."

The rich are, of course, to appropriate a portion of their property to the same cause, according as God has prospered them. As to the amount to be given, whether a fifth or a tenth—whether more or less—this at present is not a point under discussion. There is, however, one particular connected with this subject which should not be forgotten. We refer to the curtailment of the expenses of the rich, with a view to the extension of Christ's kingdom. What opinion are we to form of the self-denial of those who never study to make a single curtailment in any of their expenses—who, perhaps, after all their own craving desires have been gratified, are willing to give something of the surplus to the cause of Christ! We are apt to suppose when we possess the power to gratify our inclinations, we may do so innocently, not considering that we are but "stewards of the manifold gifts of God," and that we are required to use what we possess with a view to the glory of God. Whoever therefore denies himself that which he has the ability to procure with a view to the glory of God in the salvation of the world, acts in the spirit of his Master, and shows, at the same time, that he regards his property as an instrument to subserve the cause of the Redeemer.

Indeed, in every true Christian's breast the love of property is a desire which burns but feebly, in comparison with the inextinguishable ardor he feels for the extension of Christ's kingdom. In an early age we read of those who "took *joyfully* the spoiling of their goods," in view of a better inheritance. Where such a spirit existed, covetousness, which is denominated idolatry in the word of God, was not the predominant passion. But this spirit is not confined to any particular period in the history of the Church—or to any particular exigency in the Church. It is a feeling common to Christianity in all ages, and under all circumstances. And it is this feeling, originating from the source of all benevolence itself—from Him who "was rich, but for our sakes became poor"—which should lead Christians to view their property as an instrument for farthering the cause of Christ, and which, therefore, should make them feel solicitous to appropriate it to this object. Christians should manifest the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial.

Secondly, By engaging personally in the work. Their time, their talents, their influence, should all be employed in promoting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom.

A disposition which regards exclusively our own salvation, and not that of others, is diametrically opposed to the religion of Jesus

Christ. Christians should "look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others." They are to "seek, not their own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved." Intimately connected with this is that deep concern for the salvation of sinners which can be *felt*, but which it is difficult to *describe*. This it was which led David to say, "Rivers of waters ran down my eyes, because they kept not thy law"—which led Jeremiah to exclaim, "O! that my head were waters and mine eyes fountains of tears"—which led the Saviour to weep over Jerusalem, though surrounded by the immense multitude who greeted his public entry into the city, hailing him as the King who came in the name of the Lord. The sight affects the heart. The eye of faith looks at the things which are not seen, which are eternal. It sees the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life," passing away with almost inconceivable rapidity—it sees the sinner perfectly insensible to his danger, while he carelessly sports upon the very brink of a tremendous precipice—it sees death at his door, and judgment following in his train; and it reads the declaration of the "true and faithful witness" inscribed as on a rock, and with words of fire, "WITHOUT HOLINESS NO MAN SHALL SEE THE LORD." Hence it is that Christians engage personally in this work. Feeling the "love of Christ" in their own souls, and deeply concerned for the salvation of others, they are willing "to spend and be spent" for Christ; and they are anxious to devote their time, their talents, and their influence to his service, that others may be made partakers of like precious faith.

To "turn many to righteousness" by their labors and sacrifices, prompts to action, not only those who are more richly endowed with the gifts of nature, of providence, and of grace, but those also who have but a single talent. Without any reference to superior gifts, the whole "body of Christ" has but one "heart and one soul." Thus it is and has been, in all ages, in all countries, that the true body of Christ—the lively members of the true Church—have harmoniously endeavored to accomplish the great object for which Christ suffered and died. Thus it is, too, that the very diversity of gifts in the Church work one and the same end, being moved by one and the same Spirit, while all contribute to the symmetry, the strength, the efficiency, and the perfection of the whole.

In the history of the Church we see a spirit which is always inciting the true believer to action. And in proportion to the purity, the strength, and the universality of this spirit, has the Church been distinguished for its triumphs over the kingdom of sin and darkness.

Action is what the Church wants. It need not fear if it will but act. And as the Church is figured forth as a "body," it enforces upon Christians individually their duty, to act—to do all in their power, according to the "measure of the gift of Christ," "to save some"—to add "lively stones to that spiritual house," the "Church of God." Every member of the body has its office. So every member of the "body of Christ" has something to do—some office to perform. But if any one is at "ease in Zion"—"neither hot nor cold,"—indifferent to the welfare of souls, and the prosperity of Zion—if he does not "abound in every good work"—if he acts as if he thought the original command of the Saviour, that the Gospel

should be "preached to every creature," was in no wise obligatory on him, he is like a palsied member of the human body. If he was ever "purged from his old sins," has he not forgotten it? If he ever labored and suffered for Christ, has he not lost his "first love?"

In the case of one who says he loves Christ, whom he has not seen, and withholds aid when he has the ability to assist a needy brother, the searching question is asked in a manner which shows the utter impossibility of reconciling such a spirit with love to Christ,—*how dwelleth the love of God in him?* If in this case the circumstance of closing up the feelings of his heart against the cry of want and distress, is considered as rendering nugatory the profession of Christianity, what opinion are we to form of those who, having the "form of godliness," exhibit no love for the souls of their fellow men—can make no effort—for their salvation? Is the evidence of the want of Christianity stronger in the one case than in the other? Is it not equally the duty of every Christian to labor to save the soul of a fellow being, as to clothe him if he be naked, or feed him if he be hungry?

"If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his." What more pre-eminently distinguished Christ as a perfect example of benevolence, than the efforts and sacrifices he made to "seek and to save that which was lost?" In what one particular were the apostles above all others—in which they were always united—on whatever minor matters they might differ? Was it not in their efforts to save souls? Neither sacrifices, nor toils, nor dangers, nor privations, nor difficulties, nor death itself, could deter or dishearten them in their ardent pursuit of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Search the records of history—call up to the mind the purest and bravest patriots that ever lived, and see if any can be found in the long catalogue, of so much disinterestedness, courage, patience, labor, and self-denial, as the apostles, and others of a similar spirit—any so entirely free from the ordinary motives which influence men to almost incredible efforts and sacrifices. What led to this? Can there be an effect so clearly marked without an adequate cause? The answer is easy. They had the "mind which was also in Christ Jesus." They were animated by the spirit of Him who, laying aside the glory which he had with the Father, took upon himself the form of a servant, and being found in fashion as a man, humbled himself to lead a life of unmingled sorrow, ceasing not to labor for the object which brought him from heaven to earth, until it was terminated by his death upon the cross. Is this the spirit of Christ? Was this the spirit of the apostles? What spirit then should distinguish every Christian? Is this a question which he can decide by a simple reference to his own inclinations? Can he act or not as pleases him? Is there not danger of his incurring the condemnation of the slothful servant who buried his talent in the earth, if he do not occupy it—make the best use in his power of his time and talents, until the master come? Is not the Christian under a direct obligation to promote the cause for which Christ died? Is he permitted to study his own ease? If he may by personal labor and self-denial "save some," is he not bound to "do what he can?" As to those who live as if they had nothing to

do in this world—no part to take in endeavoring to snatch souls as brands from the burning—no interest in promoting the Redeemer's kingdom—who in effect say, "No man has hired us,"—happy should we esteem ourselves if we could induce them to compare their spirit with that of Christ, and arouse them to zeal and activity in a cause which requires the most powerful exertions of every Christian. This cause has slept too long in the hands of those who have been its advocates and supporters.

In view, then, of this great work, the conversion of the world, every Christian should feel that he has something to do—that his time, his talents, and his influence, should be devoted to the same "object for which Christ died." Thus it was, as we have seen, with the Church at Jerusalem, shortly after the effusion of the Holy Ghost: "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart, and one soul." They were all animated by the same spirit. Such was the union which existed among them. One heart, one fountain head of life, sent its vital streams through the whole body, to give life and animation to all the members. Hence the mighty impetus which was given to Christianity in its commencement. The same union of personal efforts and sacrifices the Church now needs, in order that the "salvation of Israel may come out of Zion." The best expounders of legal instruments are those who drew them up—who know the exact intent for which they are prepared. So the apostles and first Christians delineate for us in the truest colors the spirit which should animate the whole Church in all ages and under all circumstances. In an especial manner at this time do the remarkable indications that the Lord is about to come suddenly to his temple, call for the most strenuous efforts—the most cheerful self-denial on the part of all who wish well to Zion—who favor the dust thereof. However unsearchable the ways of the Almighty may be to us, there can be no doubt that there are "set times to favor Zion;" and the present is certainly one of those auspicious periods. When a great work is to be done, unusual exertion is required. The soul is then to nerve itself with more than ordinary vigor; and dangers, obstacles, and privations are scarcely to be regarded. What a work have Christians before them?—and shall they "sleep as do others?" Shall they not rather awake in the strength of Christ, astonished that they have slept so long? Did a false religious enthusiasm, a restlessness of spirit, a thirst for war, or lust for gain; did a love of power and dominion, any, or all of these at once, incite all Christendom to wonderful exertions for the recovery of the Holy Land? And shall not the great and truly Christian enterprise of sending the Gospel to every creature—of establishing the kingdom of the Messiah in regions where idolatry, superstition, and error reign, excite in Christians a degree of zeal and devotedness to prosecute it on a scale the world never before witnessed? Let "Zion arise and shine"—let every Christian do his duty, laboriously, patiently, perseveringly, and soon will the predictions of prophecy, as to the latter day glory, be changed into matter of history. The sixtieth chapter of Isaiah exhibits, in a manner which almost dazzles the strong vision of faith itself, this scene of spiritual glory and prosperity. What Christian can read it, and not say with a heart swelling with unutterable desire, with irrepressible ardor, "Lord, what wilt thou have *me* to do?"

In this age of religious enterprise it would not be difficult here to enter upon "various details of effort and self-denial," in one or more of which all Christians should be engaged. The numerous societies which exist for promoting religious knowledge by spreading the Bible and tracts—the various ways by which, as Churches and as individuals, we may in the innumerable ramifications of society, exert our influence favorable to the cause of piety, all these have their respective claims upon the time and attention of Christians. But we will pursue our theme. And we are the less reluctant to do this, because we think, if we can but succeed in exciting a spirit of personal effort and self-denial among Christians, and prevail on them to cherish this spirit, instead of excusing themselves for being idle in the market place, they will go at once, in obedience to the call of their Master into his vineyard, even though it be with them the eleventh hour of the day. Wherever there is the disposition, opportunities of usefulness will quickly be found. Such opportunities, too, as will in this case afford full scope for those of the strongest capacities, and in the most exalted conditions, as well as those of the feeblest minds and the lowest walks of life. Every Christian *may* be employed, and every Christian *should* be employed. Do we go in the smallest degree beyond the limits of Divine revelation—are we not fully warranted by the precepts and example of Christ, when we say every Christian *must* be employed in fulfilling the original command of the Saviour, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature?"

There is another duty devolving upon Christians in promoting the great work of the conversion of the world, which, to perform it properly, requires no less effort and self-denial than those which have preceded it—we mean,

Thirdly, Praying for the "peace" and prosperity of spiritual "Jerusalem."

In laboring for the conversion of the world, Christians should give their property, their talents, their influence; but they are not to forget that their prayers must accompany all these. The progress of Mohammedism was exceedingly slow, until the sword opened the way for its more rapid, but certainly not, under all the circumstances, very astonishing progress. But the weapons of the Christian's warfare are not "carnal." Misguided but well intentioned zeal used a sword once—but the touch of the Saviour immediately healed the wound, and by his command the sword was laid aside from that time never again to be resumed in this holy warfare. But the weapons of Christians do not the less answer their holy purpose. They are indeed mightier than those employed by the hosts of the bloody prophet, though wielded by gigantic strength and consummate skill. More powerful than any of the destructive engines of war, prayer, the first and most important of the Christian soldier's weapons, is mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin. The Church, aware of the efficiency of prayer, have systematically used it, and in the establishment of periodical concerts, in which the success of missionary and other benevolent enterprises is made the specific object of their supplications. This weapon they wield with the hand of faith, and in strong confidence that the uttermost ends of the earth will see the salvation of God.

It is exceedingly striking to observe the weight which St. Paul attaches to the prayers of Christians for the fartherance of the Gospel. He labors to enlist their prayers for himself and his fellow laborers, that God would open unto them a *door of utterance*, that they might open their *mouths boldly*, that the *word of the Lord might have free course and be glorified*. Hence it appears how intimate is the connection between the prayers of the people of God for the peace of Jerusalem and the actual enlargement and prosperity of the Church. To an incredulous eye the connection between the prayers of Christians in Europe and America, for the extention of the Gospel in Asia, may appear imaginary. But if the prayers of the brethren in the days of the apostles could prevail to open a "door of utterance" for them, is not the prevalency of prayer the same now as then? May not the prayers of the Church at this period be available in causing the word of God to have free course in removing the obstructions which national jealousy for ages has thrown in its way—in subduing the inveterate prejudices, strengthened by eighteen hundred years of reproach, estrangement, and suffering—in softening and expanding the fierce and exclusive bigotry, and shedding a clearer and purer light wherever darkness, ignorance, and superstition reign?

That we do not place too much reliance upon the prayers of Christians in effectually aiding this glorious work, is evident from the light in which our Saviour himself regards this duty. Does he not mean to be understood as declaring it both a duty and privilege for Christians, in all ages, to pray for the prosperity and enlargement of the Church, when he directs them to pray that his "kingdom may come, and his will be done on earth as it is heaven?" Unless it be in accordance with the Divine economy that the prayers of Christians be rendered effectual in opening the way, by removing obstacles, and conquering opposition, that the word of God may prevail and grow mightily, would the Saviour have ever dictated so remarkable a prayer—one whose very terms are calculated to excite an expectation in Christians that, if it be made in faith, it will be heard and answered in the establishment of the kingdom of Christ as an everlasting kingdom, and in such a universal diffusion and cordial reception of religion in the spirit of its requirements, that the *will of Christ shall be "done in earth as it is in heaven?"*

In the power of prayer to open a "door of utterance" and to give the word of God "free course," we have another instance of the design of the Gospel to humble the natural pride and the arrogant sufficiency of man, and to show him in what his strength consists. But while prayer—fervent, effectual prayer—opening and smoothing the way for the propagation of the Gospel—leaves no room for glorying in an arm of flesh, it at the same time imparts a vigor and courage to Christian efforts which could be drawn from no other source. When Peter was immured in a dungeon, held by chains and guarded by soldiers to prevent his escape from the death to which he was appointed, "prayer was made without ceasing of the Church unto God for him." The result we know. The last night previous to the day appointed for his execution his deliverance was effected. So Christians, in view of the conversion of the world, have an unfailing resource in prayer. That which may appear to

be impossible with men, is possible with God. And they can never despair as long as they can approach with humble boldness to a throne of grace, and plead the fulfilment of those promises by which they are assured that *Jerusalem will be a praise in the earth*—that *righteousness and praise will shine forth before all nations*.

Do then Christians desire to see the word of God run? Do they wish to see it glorified, rapid and mighty in its progress, as it was at the beginning? If Christians wish to see—if they would see for themselves that the Gospel is not shorn of any of that power with which it commenced its career—let them rely confidently on united, patient, persevering prayer. He who dwelleth on high but hath respect unto the lowly, is never more pleased than when he sees his people thus relying upon him, in their most unceasing and untiring efforts to promote his cause. When we act—when we suffer for Christ, we feel the kindling impulse. The natural love of action may operate as a stimulus in many cases. But the prayer of faith moves none of these sympathies of our common nature. It is wholly an internal work. It is the soul's simple reliance upon the wisdom, the power, the goodness, and the faithfulness of God. With this God is well pleased. And the Church cannot exhibit a surer indication that the "set time to favor Zion" is indeed come, than when it is unitedly engaged in prayer as it was in an upper room in Jerusalem, with a depth and intenseness of feeling which human language cannot express, and with a faith which "staggers not at the promise through unbelief."

In conclusion, we observe that Christians do truly show the mind of their Master, and effectually subserve his cause, by promoting holiness in their own hearts. This cannot be accomplished without great personal effort and self-denial. In making, however, the most strenuous exertions for the promotion of the great work of holiness in their own hearts—in denying themselves for this end—Christians should also recollect that they are preparing themselves for greater usefulness in the Church of God. They who have the clearest views of the glory and beauty of holiness—who see that wherever this Divine principle is implanted the most deeply in the heart, there is to be found the nearest resemblance to the Deity—will feel the strongest desires that all men may become "partakers of the Divine nature." This will stimulate their activity; while, at the same time, what they do and say will produce the greater effect from the correspondence which exists between their own holy and unblamable lives, and their zealous exertions to advance the cause of their Divine Lord and Master.

In order to send the Gospel with greater speed throughout the world—to cause Satan's kingdom to fall like lightning to the ground—Christians should "lay righteousness to the line, and judgment to the plummet." They should see whether they show forth in life and spirit the laborious, the watchful, the prayerful, the self-denying mind of Christ, and are endeavoring to "perfect holiness in the fear of God." Let the Church but become "all glorious within"—let holiness of heart and life distinguish all its members—let their offerings, their personal services, their time, their talents, their influence, their prayers, all be employed in the conversion of the world—let not a few labor, while the great body remain in comparative inac-

tivity—let every member of the body of Christ, without a single exception, engage in this cause under a deep sense of his individual responsibility, and the work, already so well begun, will become *immediately* more general and powerful, and, still extending itself, will *quickly* “fill the whole earth.”

PROMINENT CEREMONIES OF THE ROMAN CHURCH AT ROME.

BY W. FISK, D. D.

[Concluded from page 355.]

THERE were several other features and events connected with Holy Week, or occurring a little before and after, which are worthy of notice. I have omitted some of them in the order of time, that I might not interrupt the account of the great ceremonies of the Church. Some of them I will now notice.

The Flagellation.

Some friends informed us that a ceremony of no small interest was to be witnessed every night at a particular church, which they described to us. We mentioned the subject to our valet de place, and requested him to conduct us to the spot. He gave that peculiar shrug of the shoulders, which, to be understood, must be seen, and which none but an Italian, I believe, can fully enact—and said he was there once, and never wished to go again. It seems that some of the professedly self-inflicted penance had been misdirected, and had fallen upon poor Luigi, the bare recollection of which made him cringe. However, he consented to conduct us to the door, and wait for us there till the *fearful* devotion was over.

When we arrived we found one single light glimmering near the altar; the church itself seemed badly kept, compared with most Roman churches, and the worshippers appeared coarse and squalid. None but males were admitted for a very good reason, as the reader will presently see. Every thing around looked suspicious, and if some of our countrymen had not been there before us and described the scene, we might have supposed ourselves in dangerous circumstances. For myself, I passed back of some broken forms that lay near the wall, behind which I entrenched myself at a little distance from the theatre of action. The door was then bolted. The single candle was carried to a small temporary platform, beside which stood a crucifix, and a palmerlike gloomy ecclesiastic ascended and commenced an impassioned harangue, the tenor and burden of which were the sufferings of Christ, and an exhortation to the people to be willing to suffer with him; that, as Christ was chastised, and suffered for their sins, much more should they be willing to chastise themselves for their manifold transgressions. The solitary light was removed, and in the midst of Egyptian darkness the tragedy commenced. It was as though you had been suddenly ushered into one of the chambers of Pandemonium. The first thing we heard after the extinguishing of the light was the cracking of whips or thongs, and the sound of scores of simultaneous lashes

well laid on. Then followed the most bitter groans and wailings, as from miserable wretches writhing under the torture. The sounds became commingled—the strokes fell thick as hail—and groans and howlings filled the temple. It was an awful scene! After it had continued for several minutes there was a pause, and the same voice resumed the exhortations to the assembly. It was perfect darkness still, and the sharp voice of the preacher, keyed up almost to a falsetto, rung through the invisible arches of the church, and died away in the distance. He paused, and again the flagellation and the howlings were resumed. At the second pause the light was restored—a person went around and collected the thongs or ropes, to preserve them I suppose, for future penance, and the assembly broke up. Whether they lashed themselves, or each other, or the floor, I cannot say. I had intended, when the flogging commenced, to have put myself in a situation to have received some of the blows, being willing to run some risk of a lash or two, to determine for myself whether the blows were laid on with effect or otherwise. But the light was extinguished unexpectedly, and I had made no arrangements that would have enabled me, situated as I was, to make the experiment *satisfactorily*. I can only say that there were blows enough, and they were sufficiently loud to have done good execution; and they were accompanied by enough of wailing and of wo, to have indicated an indescribable amount of suffering—and this is religious worship! in a Christian assembly, and at the very seat of the infallible Church!!

The Pilgrims.

The Hospital of the Trinity is a place for the entertainment of the pilgrims who visit Rome on great festive occasions for religious purposes. Here they are washed, fed, and lodged for a term of time not exceeding three days for the greater portion, although those who come from a great distance, as from Spain, Portugal, &c., are entertained four or five days. The institution is a charitable one, and supported chiefly by donations and contributions from the more wealthy. A long list of names of the more prominent benefactors are recorded on public tablets at the hospital. There are two grand divisions to the apartments of the hospital, one section being set apart for the females, and the other for the males. In the male apartments alone they make up, as we were informed by one of the attendants, two thousand beds. On Holy Week, especially, great numbers of both sexes are expected at this hospital, and ample provision is made for their entertainment. One of the rules of the institution is, that all who come in the course of the day must have their feet washed at night, which washing is performed partly by the regular attendants, and partly by the nobility of Rome and of other countries, who volunteer their services on this occasion as a kind of voluntary humility, as well as a sort of religious rite, showing by this their readiness to “wash the saints’ feet,” and to serve their poorer brethren in the humblest offices of life. The pope himself, we were told, sometimes officiates in this menial service. The evening we were at the hospital, however, the highest dignitary that officiated at the tub was the ex-king of Portugal, Don Miguel. We had, also, Lord Gifford, of England, and a number of the Roman nobles.

As we brought no tickets we had a little difficulty at first in getting admittance. This being settled, I left Mrs. F., whom I conducted to the entrance of the female department, and went down into the bathing room of the males, where a number presented themselves to be washed, not as many, however, as on former occasions, for it was approaching toward the last of the week. There was a range of foot baths quite around the room, with pipes to conduct hot and cold water, and a rail extending quite around in front of the baths, to prevent spectators from crowding upon them. After standing until we were weary, the ceremony commenced by a short religious service read as usual. What followed was no more of an exhibition than any other case of washing dirty feet, except as to the number and quality of the actors and spectators. There was a large room full of gentlemen from all parts of the world to see kings and noblemen perform the work of ablution upon the lower extremities of some of the dirtiest, roughest looking subjects that Italy can produce. Some of them had sore feet from the badness of their shoes, and their pedestrian journey; for these, plasters were prepared and applied. The thick rough boots of some were drawn with great difficulty, and their stockings, when they wore any, looked as though they needed washing as much as the feet they covered, without which, to wash the latter would be of little avail. The Don had a hard case; however he scrubbed away with might and main, and when he got to the skin he wiped it, kissed the foot, and ensconced it again in its former sheath. All kissed the feet when they had finished washing them.

After the washing we ascended to the *Salle à manger*, to witness the feeding. Here the crowd of spectators was still greater, and here too were assembled all the pilgrims that had been congregated for several days. Truly they were a motley group, some with their long pilgrim's staves, some with shells of scallops and other sea-fish fastened upon their breasts and shoulders, many of them ragged and wo-begone, although the greater part are supposed to come from cities of Italy not far distant. They gathered around the long tables, and those who washed their feet prepared to serve them. I got a position near the ex-king. He is a middle aged man, of rather a small stature, and possessing a countenance by no means indicative of that cruelty and thirst for blood which seem to have marked his public life. He is as great a stickler for Romanism as his brother, Don Pedro, was an opposer. Their course in this matter has undoubtedly been shaped very much by their political interests. While Don Pedro was thwarted and opposed in all his plans by the priests, these have been the partisans of Don Miguel, and sustained his course, and he, in his turn, has sustained theirs. It is this that has led the pope to patronize the Don in his exile, by giving him a refuge and a salary of \$3,000 per annum; and this, on the other hand, has led the ex-king to be very officious in matters of religion, and specially active during holy week in all the self-denying duties of the occasion. At this time he was very active in helping the pilgrims, in cutting their bread, and serving their fish, vegetables, and wine,* and at the same time was very social, now with the pilgrims, and

* It was still Lent.

now with one of the attendants, and then again with some of his fellow servants. He left, however, in time to be introduced into the ladies' apartments. When the company had satisfied their appetites, and some of these poor fellows ate as if they had eaten nothing for a long time before, they began to fill their handkerchiefs and sacks with the fragments and remains, and to pour their wine into their leather bottles. These were their perquisites, and they laid in liberally—sufficiently so, I should think, to last them a considerable distance in their homeward journey. They then all rose, and in single file, chanting or singing as they went, marched up to their lodgings.

Mrs. F. found the ceremonies in the female apartments much the same as above described, except that the ladies who waited upon the pilgrims were more minute and assiduous in their attentions than the gentlemen. The noble ladies, as they entered the room, went to a table on which lay a quantity of red and white aprons, the former with waists, and the latter without waists. The red apron was first put on; and then the other, which was furnished with two large pockets to hold their napkins, &c., was tied on over the former. They then proceeded to wash the feet, after which each lady took a pilgrim by the arm, and led her to the table, and waited upon her as before described, filling her wallet and her wine sack with what remained, and taking as they retired a large pile of plasters up to their lodging rooms, to dress their sore feet, &c. One old woman, who had the appearance of extreme old age, and was bowed down with the weight of years, had nevertheless walked fifty miles to witness this festival. For her, the ladies in attendance made up a purse to cheer her heart and relieve her wants.

In all this there is certainly much of kindness and Christian courtesy exhibited, that were well worth the imitation of Protestants. In the ceremonies before us, however, there is a drawback upon the credit we might otherwise be disposed to give to the parties concerned, from the consideration that the whole is a set form or kind of exhibition, and a stated public observance, which has in it much of show and ostentation, much of *fashion*, and perhaps of superstition.

There is much more of the spirit of our holy and benevolent religion where the meek Christian, unobserved and unattended by the pomp of form and ceremony, seeks out the poor and the squalid, and with his or her own hands washes the saints' feet, and cheers the heart of the fainting—a spirit which, to the reproach of our common Christianity, is too little prevalent both in the Catholic and Protestant Churches. I cannot, however, but concede that, in my opinion, the Catholic takes the lead in charities of this kind; and perhaps ceremonies, such as those I have already described, may have kept alive among them a sense of duty on this point. For such ceremonies cannot but have their influence, especially upon the young, who are thus trained, at times at least, to think of, and feel for the poor and the wretched. Here young girls of ten or fifteen years of age are seen bounding along with laughing eyes and mantling cheeks, bearing the large trays of refreshments to the tables, while their mothers and older sisters distribute those refreshments to the hungry and weary pilgrims. The impressions of one such scene upon the mind of the young might be as lasting as life,

and such scenes repeated might do something at least toward moulding permanently the character of the heart.

It should be observed that males are not usually admitted into the female apartments during these ceremonies except the priests, some of whom are present to lead in the religious observances, and to see, I suppose, that all things are done "decently and in order." Don Miguel, however, was on this occasion escorted in by four priests with lighted candles, for the purpose, I suppose, of showing himself to all the guests, and also, as it would seem, to be introduced to a princess, who was present and assisting at the supper.

Taking the White Veil.

The church of St. Cecilia in Trastivere, is situated on the south part of the city, on the right side of the Tiber, and is supposed to be built on the site of the house of St. Cecilia. This saint suffered martyrdom at the time of the Lombard invasion, in a bath appertaining to the house. For some time there was a doubt about the identity of the body, but at length she appeared in a supernatural way to St. Paschal, and gave him such instruction, as enabled him to find and identify the body. Whereupon it was taken and deposited in a sepulchre under the high altar of this church, which was erected to her memory, and for the edification of the faithful. All this I learned from a copy of a Latin letter sent to the pope from Paschal, and inscribed on a marble tablet in the wall of the church. Here over the sarcophagus is a beautiful horizontal statue of marble, with the head turned under, in the very attitude, it is said, in which she was discovered after her martyrdom. Connected with this church is a nunnery, in which are the order of St. Cecilia. Thither on Tuesday after holy week we went to witness the assumption of the white veil by two young females. On our arrival, we were invited into a private apartment adjoining the convent, where we and many others were generously treated with refreshments furnished by the friends of the candidates. This room was connected with the convent by doubly grated windows. The two sets of grates were distant from each other about eight inches, and the rods were so close as to render it impossible for persons to touch each other through them. We could see the sisters of the order, however, and also the candidates for the sisterhood. After refreshment we went into the church, and soon an aged bishop, with locks whiter than wool, entered with his attendants. A golden crosier was borne before him. He was then clad with his sacerdotal vestments, the principal of which was a robe of silver tissue bordered with gold, and a mitre studded with brilliants. Soon the candidates entered, dressed like princesses, followed by little girls with wings from their backs in the character of angels, holding up their trains. After some ceremony by the bishop and the candidates, a discourse was delivered by a priest, which seemed to be a defence of perpetual virginity, and a reference to the advantages of the monastic life. The novices then retired, and directly appeared at a grate communicating with the church. This grated window had an altar on each side, and a communication in the centre about eight or ten inches square. Here with the bishop and priests on one side, and the young ladies with their attendants on the other, the appointed

service was performed. By the kindness of the brother of one of the candidates, I was accommodated with a favorable position near the altar, and near the new vestments with which they were about to be clothed. These lay in two separate piles with the name of each upon her parcel. After a portion of the service, the candidates placed their heads by the window of the grate, and the officiating bishop with a pair of golden scissors, taken from a plate of gold, cut off a lock of their hair. They then underwent a complete transformation as to their garments. The rich head-dress and ornaments were taken off; the hair turned back, the fine tresses straitened, and a plain tight cap without a border put upon the head. The ornaments were taken from the arms, the ears, the neck—the rich dress, in short, was removed and left the candidates modestly blushing with only a close white underdress to cover them. The whole of this gay attire, and these princely ornaments were loosely rolled together, and put into the hands of the wearer, who with some sentence which I could not understand, but which was undoubtedly expressive of her abdication of the world and its vanities,—as if she should say :

“I bid this world of noise and show,
With all its flattering smiles adieu—”

cast them from her. Her new attire was then brought forward, and article after article was received through the grate, affectionately kissed and put on, an official nun standing by each candidate, and assisting in the investment. The order of the clothing was, as nearly as I can recollect, as follows: first, a scarf, with an opening for the head, was thrown over the shoulders, and hung down perhaps as low as the knees, before and behind—around this a white sash—over the whole a robe, which, like the other garments, was of fine white stuff like worsted—then a peculiar collar for the neck, which was turned down before, but turned up behind and pinned at the back of the head. And finally the white hood or veil, which was made stiff and fashioned somewhat, in the part for the head, like a peasant's sun-bonnet in our country, without, however, being gathered behind, for it extended down like a stiff veil over the shoulders. A crucifix, rosary, and prayer book, together with a lighted candle were given to each—all of which, as they were received, one by one, were kissed by the candidates, as also was the priest's hand who presented them. Last of all the head was surmounted by an armillary crown, either of silver, or tinsel resembling silver. The whole of this transformation was sudden, and the contrast most striking. It was as if a princess, by the touch of a Roman wand, had been metamorphosed into a meek-eyed, modestly appareled sister of charity.

Thus habited, the two novices threw themselves again upon the altar with their faces buried in the velvet cushions before them, when the venerable bishop, assisted by other priests, performed the most solemn part of the service, which consisted of short sentences and brief responses, in which all seemed to join with a good deal of spirit. The new sisters then arose and kissed their assistant officials, the other attendant nuns their attending cherubs, and their female friends who were within the grate. Up to that moment the

friends of the *buried alive** seemed to be cheerful, but now that the final separation was come, there was more apparent difficulty in concealing the emotions which, doubtless, they had all along felt; and I now noticed that the sister of one of them, who had been remarkably gay, drew back with swimming eyes. The candidates, on the contrary, through the whole scene manifested little emotion either of devotion or of excited sensibilities for friends, but seemed to pass through the ceremony with a self-possession and firmness that to me indicated either deep principle of duty, or the indifference of disappointment. Undoubtedly many persons take the veil from both of these causes; others from poverty, and others again, and perhaps of these there are not a few, from the solicitation of parents or brothers, who, not being able or willing to make genteel provision for the supernumerary female members of their family, find this a convenient and respectable way of disposing of them. What may have been the cause of the *seclusions* in the present cases, I of course am ignorant of, but I have left upon my mind the deep and indelible conviction that the Church which offers facilities and holds out motives for such moral *suicides*, has greatly mistaken her duty to the world, and must be held responsible for encouraging a system wholly unsanctioned, either by the Old or New Testament, and against the principle of which the entire economy of man's nature throws back the denial through every law of his physical and moral constitution.

A number of sonnets were composed on this occasion, and distributed to the spectators, and possibly some of them were sung; for the exercises were occasionally and pleasantly varied by the sound of sweet music. At the commencement we not only had the deep-toned organ, but the sweet notes of female voices dropped down in melting strains from the lofty latticed galleries, behind which the sisterhood were concealed. Here "through the loop holes of their retreat," they were permitted to look out upon the ceremonies below—a place which they doubtless often occupied at the time of public service in the church, and which so far screened them that nothing was seen, even when they stood the nearest to the net-work screen, but some undefined forms robed in white, which a lively imagination in the land of visions might easily transform into celestial visitants, who had come down to chant a dirge for the departing spirits, and then to accompany them to their future *abodes of rest*. And their sweet voices, softened by their passage through the lattice, fell gently down upon the company below, as if to say, in all the winning witchery of melody,

"Sister spirits, come away."

From the sonnets distributed on the occasion, we learned that the name of one of the initiated was, Teresa Gauttieri Romana, daughter of Signor Vincenzo, but her *new name*, (for all take a new name on entering the sisterhood,) was Donna Marianna. The name of the other was Teresa Gauttieri, but her assumed name was Donna Maria Benedetta. Their respective ages were apparently about

* I say *buried alive*, because, although these had only taken the white veil, and therefore may, it is pretended, at their option, come out at the end of a year, still, I believe, in most cases, having taken the first step, they are made willing to proceed.

23 and 28. They seemed to depart from this world in peace. May kind Heaven grant that no bitter disappointment blight their expectations, and no *passion* or *oppression* pollute or disturb the quiet of their prison house!

It may be proper to notice in this connection that, a day or two after this, a lady belonging to one of the noble families of England took the veil in Rome. Her conversion to Catholicism—for until recently she had been a Protestant—had with the attendant circumstances been a subject of considerable interest in the city, and was considered by the Catholics not only as a great triumph of truth, but as a great confirmation, also, of their faith. It seems, strange and simple as the circumstance may appear, that the first thing which staggered her Protestantism, was that phrase in the creed, "I believe in the holy catholic Church." How could she repeat this in sincerity, being a Protestant? For it seems she understood by this, not the universal Church, but the Roman Church! This put her upon an inquiry, which resulted in her conversion to Romanism, followed by an earnest desire to become a nun of the order of St. Theresa. But as the regimen of that order was rigorous, and her own health very delicate, her friends were unwilling she should come under the vows of the order. She then prayed to the virgin, who, in answer to prayer, miraculously healed her, not only as to her general health, but, as was affirmed, a lameness, which had rendered one of her limbs useless, was suddenly healed and entirely cured. This miracle not only satisfied her friends as to her duty in the case, but was the occasion also of converting her mother to, and confirming her in the Catholic faith. She, accordingly, took the veil. We passed the place of the ceremony, where we saw an immense number of coaches and a great gathering; but as the crowd was great, and the ceremony not new to us, we did not attempt an entrance. She appeared at the grated window for a number of successive days afterward, to converse with her friends. We saw some who conversed with her, and they represented her as appearing very cheerless and agitated. Indeed, it seems from all the information I could gain, that her mind as well as her body was of a sickly cast, and her temperament visionary and fanciful. It was a case, however, that gave great joy to the Papists, insomuch that the jesuit priest already alluded to, made it a subject of one of his public addresses to a popular assembly in Rome, to confirm their faith and confidence in the "Holy Catholic Church."

Chiesa Della Trinità de Monti.

This church stands on the Pinchean Hill, situated in the north part of the city, near the Porta del Popolo, and east of the Piazza di Spagna. It is one of the most prominent points in the modern city, and is rendered still more magnificent in its western aspect, by the splendid staircase by which it is approached from the Piazza di Spagna.

Connected with the church is a convent, all the inmates of which are said to be ladies of quality. The regulations of their order are in some respects peculiar, especially in that they take upon them no vows of perpetual seclusion, but hold themselves at liberty to leave whenever they choose. And yet it is mentioned, as a most extra-

ordinary fact, that no one has ever been known to leave the sisterhood after she has once entered. If this be a fact, there is at least one conclusion to which we may safely come, viz: that if it is not a violation of a positive vow, to leave the convent, and therefore an infraction of no written law, it nevertheless is a violation of common law, and of an implied engagement, to break which would show a disregard of all that is sacred in religion, and all that is respectable in character. These are considerations, therefore, that undoubtedly operate strongly and effectually to guard the egress from these monastic walls. In addition, the rules of the order, it is presumed, are not rigorous, their privileges, both social and religious, are great, and their company abundant and most respectable. At least, I have noticed that priests and ecclesiastics of a most respectable appearance were among their visitors.

Hearing that they had most enchanting music there, at vespers, on Sabbath evenings, we made several attempts to get admittance, in all of which we failed, save in one instance, in which I had wandered to the church alone, at an early hour, and happened to approach the private door just at the same time with two or three priests. The door on this, as on all other occasions, was locked, and as the priests were pulling the bell I informed them that I was a stranger, which they doubtless would readily perceive by my bad Italian; that I had a great desire to be present at the vespers, and if they would pass me in I should be greatly obliged to them. They bowed assent with the usual frankness and courtesy of the Italians, and especially of the priests. The door was opened by a nun of a most angelic countenance; who, at the intimation of the priests, admitted me, and showing me a side door into the church, conducted the clergymen into the convent.

It was early, and the church, as I thought, was perfectly empty. This gave me an opportunity of examining it leisurely. The chancel was separated from the nave by a very high and magnificent screen, consisting of beautiful iron balusters. This was to separate the nuns, who chant the service, from the congregation in the church. As I looked through the balustrade, I saw to the left a solitary priest with his prayer book in his hand, and so deeply intent upon his devotion's that he did not observe me. I immediately recognized him to be the count of —, to whom I had been introduced a few evenings before, at Mr. C——'s, in the Corso. Although a count, he was also a priest, and a gentleman of soft and winning address, and kindly manners. And here he was alone, in this lovely church, where silence reigned, where the sacredness of the place, the beauty of the edifice, the sweet breath and sweet light of an evening in which the setting sun gleamed faintly through the remaining mists of a recent shower, all conspired to melt the heart and mould the spirit into devout veneration of the God of the sanctuary. This it was, perhaps, which prepared me the more to enjoy what followed.

There is always a church, I believe, connected with every convent. And in every such instance there are private entrances to it from the convent. So it was with the *Chiesa della Trinità*.

As soon, therefore, as the vesper bell rang, the nuns began to enter. Those who led the music came into the high gallery by a

private passage, and seated themselves around and near an organ. Below, within the chancel, entered first the young ladies of the school, connected with the nunnery, two and two, paired according to their size, first bowing toward the high altar, and then seating themselves facing it;—then followed the nuns. They were all neatly dressed and had heavenly countenances beaming with cheerfulness and devotion. Indeed, it was evident that a habitual frame of mind of this kind had produced a permanent effect upon the features of the face, and the expression of the countenance. The services commenced—they consisted chiefly of music from the voices of the nuns and from the organ. And such an organ! and such voices! The organ seemed to have been constructed on purpose to symphonize with the sweet voices of the sisters; and sweet were those voices! sweet was that organ! The music was rather of a lively, cheerful cast, and was set to a hymn or song of praise, which, to the number of some twelve verses, I should think, was performed and sung on the occasion. I cannot describe it, much less can I describe the effect on my own feelings. It was not so overwhelming as the *Tenebræ* at St. Peter's, but it seemed to trickle down into the sentient chambers of the soul, and there diffuse itself to the extremities through all the conductors of feeling, until the whole system was exhilarated and enchanted. To this hour, whenever my mind reverts to the Church of the Trinity, I seem to hear those ravishing notes anew, "like the memory of joys that are past, pleasant and mournful to the soul." Never, perhaps, before or since, have I felt so much devotion in a Catholic church, as on that occasion. The benediction was pronounced, and I reluctantly retired from a spot that had afforded me delight as unexpected as it was refined.

While on the subject of music, I will add, that the common music in Italy fell far short of my expectations. I had supposed that in that musical country there would be much interest in the music of the streets and of the peasantry of the country. On the contrary, it is absolutely horrible: the braying of an ass is scarcely more repulsive. You will hear, especially in the evening, companies of young men walking the streets and singing—you will hear songs in the country, and your vetturino will sing to you perhaps from morning till night, but it is all utterly destitute of music. The same may be said of much of the music of the churches. As I did not attend the operas, of course I cannot speak of the music there. Doubtless it is of the most scientific kind. But so far as my opportunities of observing go, much of the music of Italy is bad. I heard one amateur in a private party in Naples, whose singing was admirable; and on a few public occasions, such as that at St. Peter's, and this at the Trinity, and some others, the music was splendid. Farther than this I cannot commend. Neither can I account for it that the popular airs and common singing are so bad, when those of other countries are often so superior. Switzerland, and Wales, and Scotland are not celebrated for their scientific music, and yet their native airs are the very melody of nature, and the singing of their peasantry is absolutely enchanting. Italy, on the other hand, is celebrated for music the most scientific and most refined, and yet the singing of her peasantry is rivalled by the braying

of her donkies. The inference seems to be, that the greatest refinements in scientific music avail to destroy the simplicity of nature in all classes; but as it is possible for none but a few to become successful, scientific performers, the great whole are left unskilled in the melody of sweet sounds.

Illumination and Fireworks.

These usually conclude the exhibitions of the splendid festivities of the Passion Week—and if I had seen them I might describe them. Unfortunately for us, however, the exhibition did not take place this year. The disappointment was felt the more because it was given out that it would take place; the fixtures were all placed upon the dome of St. Peter's; the rockets and other preparatives were all made for the fireworks; and the time appointed for the exhibition. The first night was rainy, and it was postponed—another excuse was given at another time, and thus the subject was delayed and suspended, till at length the report was circulated that the whole was indefinitely postponed, and that the money which it would have cost would be given to the poor. Whether the poor ever got the money I cannot say—I can only say, we lost a fee, which we paid in part, in advance, for our *window*, where we were to witness the exhibition; as doubtless did many others. For it is usual on these occasions for all who have houses advantageously situated, to rent their windows for the night, for from five to perhaps twenty, or even fifty dollars each, according to their situation and accommodations. Some of them have balconies and curtains over head. For a number of days the windows in the neighborhood were dressed and curtained, waiting for an exhibition which was finally suspended. The reason for the disappointment we could never learn. If there was any good reason it ought to have been announced, for as it was, there was much of surmising and hard sayings against the Romans and against his holiness. By holding out the expectation and postponing it, day after day, many persons were induced not only to rent their stands for the night, but to postpone their departure from Rome, some of them a week or ten days, waiting for the *great sight*, and were finally disappointed. Thus thousands of dollars were spent in the city by travellers, which would not otherwise have been spent; and some expressed their conviction that there might be some design in all this. For myself, however, I would not readily give credit to such an imputation, but I confess there was a kind of injustice in the procedure, which nothing but an important reason could excuse. If such a reason had existed, one would think it would have been made public. As to the plea, that the money would be given to the poor, that was worse than nothing—the situation of the poor was known before any such expectation was raised; and much more might have been saved for the poor, if no arrangements had been made for the exhibition. There is a great difficulty, however, not only in Rome, but throughout all Italy, of getting before the public the desired information on subjects of general interest. Instead of numerous periodicals and public newspapers, as in this country, they have nothing scarcely that deserves the name of a public periodical press. They have in Rome one or two little papers, published

perhaps weekly, about twice the size of a man's hand, containing some account of the functions and ceremonies of the cathedrals, the movements of the cardinals, &c., together with some of the leading events of Europe, provided these events do not savor too much of liberalism—and that is the extent, I believe, of Roman newspapers. It is, in fact, the most difficult thing to get information on subjects of public interest; and this may serve in part, perhaps, as an apology for the Roman court, for leaving the public in the dark in this instance, in respect to the reasons for the course adopted.

It may not be amiss to give a general idea of the proposed exhibition, such as it has usually been, and such as it was indeed this year, at the festival of St. Peter, which took place since we left Rome. Heretofore it has been usual to have this exhibition both on, or rather immediately after, Passion Week, and also at the festival just mentioned.

The illumination is on the dome and other parts of the outside of St. Peter's. It is effected by lamps, flambeaux, and various combustible matter, so arranged that every part of the church, to the very summit of the cross, over the dome, appears in a blaze. The fore part of the illumination is mild, and gleams like the light of the moon; but at seven o'clock it changes suddenly into a universal blaze, as if by magic; and it is said, nothing scarcely can be conceived of more splendor than this transition, and the brilliant spectacle which follows. There are between four and five thousand lanterns used in this illumination, and seven or eight hundred flambeaux. The lighting is effected by men on the outside, suspended by ropes, who are moved with pulleys by men within; and so hazardous is the enterprise that the performers receive the sacrament before they commence, that they may be prepared for sudden death.

At eight o'clock the fireworks commence at the castle of St. Angelo, formerly Adrian's Mausoleum. The commencement is an explosion called the *Girandola*, which is effected by such an arrangement and discharge of four or five thousand rockets as to be, it is said, a very good representation of an eruption of a volcano. This is followed by various other modifications of pyrotechnical display, grand and beautiful; and the whole is closed by another magnificent *Girandola*.

I have thus just sketched this grand exhibition for the sake of those of your readers who may not have been made acquainted with its character, although we did not witness it. The pope himself gave us an animated description of it in an interview we had with him, but I should have abundantly preferred that he had let us see it. But fearing it might be contrary to *court etiquette* to question the sovereign pontiff on this subject, I did not inquire his reasons for disappointing us.

Religious Processions.

In describing the ceremonies of this festive occasion at Rome, it might be well to notice that religious processions were at this time unusually frequent. Companies of ecclesiastics and various religious orders marched through the streets, chanting religious services, and bearing a crucified Christ, or the image of some saint, before

which the multitudes bowed. This is more or less common, in fact, at all seasons, throughout Italy.

The consecrated host also, especially the day after Easter, was borne in procession through the streets in various parts of the city. The object, we were told, was to convey it to the sick, for their sanctification and comfort. Whenever it passed the people prostrated themselves; and why should they not? For this material substance, thus supported like any other portion of matter, was believed to be verily and truly God!

Holy Staircase.

I may not have a better opportunity than the present to mention the religious ceremony or penance of the holy staircase. This is not peculiar to holy week, although it happened more particularly to strike our attention at this time; and perhaps on account of the many strangers present at this festival, there may have been more votaries engaged in this penance than on other or common occasions.

This staircase is called "holy," because it is that up which, if we may believe the tradition, the Saviour passed, pending his trial at Pilate's bar. How it was preserved at the destruction of Jerusalem, especially as the Christians, who alone would be intrusted in its preservation, had previously left the city—or why even Christians should be solicitous to preserve a staircase belonging to the palace of a weak and wicked ruler, who gave sentence against their Lord, are matters which neither I nor, I presume, any one else can satisfactorily account for. However, it is believed to be that very staircase, and as such is not only an object of veneration, but is made meritorious in the forgiveness of sins—up it no one is allowed to pass, except upon his knees: and every time any one thus ascends it, *he has remitted to him two hundred years from the fires of purgatory!* This of course makes its ascent an object of great interest; insomuch that the marble steps have been so worn away by penitential friction as to make it necessary to cover them anew, to save them from complete destruction. Almost any time of day you may see more or less of these poor deluded votaries climbing up these steps, some of them upon their bare knees—the females dividing their attention between their devotions and the decent adjustment of their apparel; and all kissing the steps and muttering their prayers as they ascend!

When I first approached these round steps, not knowing their sanctity, I started to ascend them, to see what there was above—the ciceroni pulled me back with horror—and informed me of its character. Not choosing to ascend on our knees, we went up an adjoining flight of stairs and surveyed them above and below, with no other emotion than that of astonishment and disgust, at this new illustration of the *deep-rooted and all-pervading superstitions and idolatries of the Roman Catholic Church.*

HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE CALVINISTIC THEOLOGY OF NEW-ENGLAND.

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Of the New-England Conference.

To TRUTH all men attach a valid importance. That which relates to religion is especially important, because it is at the foundation of our best interests—our rational hope of immortality, and all the present consolations which such a hope is calculated to inspire. The interest men feel to know the truth is sufficiently exemplified in the history of their untiring researches—their noon-day toils and midnight lucubrations—all aiming at a satisfactory answer to this one important question, "What is truth?" A history of the exercises and efforts of the minds of men in this pursuit, could they be truly and faithfully written, would be far more interesting than a record of all the splendid achievements of physical force since the beginning of the world, by as much as our intellectual is more noble and interesting than our animal nature. But such a chronicle of thought does not exist. There are fragments, however, in given cases where thought exerts its energies for the accomplishment of particular objects, which may be seized and safely adopted as sure indications of the true character of the more hidden source whence they emanated. Hence it is that in the philosophical, political, and religious theories of men, and the changes which those theories from time to time undergo, we trace the workings of those minds which first brought them into being, as well as those which afterward modify and mould them into different shapes.

In the following sheets an attempt is made to trace the history of that theory which is, by common consent, denominated Calvinism, as it has existed and now exists in New-England. This work is not without its difficulties, and it may have its advantages.

As the subject of this essay is the Calvinism of New-England especially, little is required to be said of the origin and existence of it in Europe. It may be proper to observe, however, that it was formed out of the unorganized elements of the theology of St. Augustine, by the plastic hand of that eminent divine, John Calvin, whose name it bears. Simultaneously with the Reformation, it was spread over a large portion of Europe, and was adopted as the basis of the creeds of many of the reformed Churches, and the subject matter of the preaching of many of the clergy.

When our Puritan fathers cruised for an asylum where they might enjoy religious freedom, they brought with them to the rock of Plymouth the strong prejudices they had imbibed for the Calvinistic creed, from which they never swerved. Under the instructions of the first religious teachers of New-England, the principles of Calvinism became more deeply rooted in the minds of the people, and were interwoven in all their habits of thinking and forms of expression. Though there were a few who were branded as heretics, not many had the courage to doubt of the infallibility of Calvinistic theology, and by far the greater portion were sincere Calvinists of the purest order.

At that early period, however, no specific creed, in the form of articles of faith, had been settled upon as binding on the Churches, by any convention, civil or ecclesiastical. The first successful attempt at any thing of this kind was by the synod which met at Cambridge in 1648, in which the one denominated the "Cambridge Platform," was adopted.

The "Platform" they adopted, it is true, was intended principally as a rule of Church discipline; but the preface affords valuable information respecting the subject of doctrines. In this the synod thus expressed themselves:—

"For this end, having perused the public Confession of the Faith agreed upon by the reverend assembly of divines at Westminster, and finding the sum and substance thereof in matters of doctrine to express, not their judgment only, but ours also; and being likewise called upon by our godly magistrates to draw up a public confession of that faith which is constantly taught and generally professed among us; we thought it good to present unto them, and with them our Churches, and with them to all the Churches of Christ abroad, our professed and hearty assent and attestation to the whole confession of faith, (for substance and doctrine,) which the reverend assembly presented to the religious and honorable Parliament of England; excepting only some sections in the 25th, 30th, and 31st chapters of their Confession, which concern points of controversy in Church discipline, touching which we refer ourselves to the draught of Church discipline in the ensuing treaties.

"The truth of what we here declare, may appear by the unanimous vote of the synod of the elders and messengers of our Churches, assembled at Cambridge, the last day of the sixth month, 1648, which jointly passed in these words:—'This synod having perused and considered, with much gladness of heart and thankfulness to God, the Confession of Faith published of late by the reverend assembly in England, do judge it to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith, and do freely and fully consent thereunto, for the substance thereof.'"

This appears to have been the earliest attempt at a formal agreement upon articles of faith in New-England. Of the nature and import of the creed thus adopted, there can be no ground for misapprehension. The Westminster Catechism has been before the public so long, and its contents are so generally known, that no one can attempt a misrepresentation of them, without laying himself open to an easy detection. Its principal distinguishing doctrines are:—

1st. That God has, according to the counsel of his own will and for his own glory, foreordained whatsoever comes to pass.

2d. That all sinned in Adam, and thus brought upon themselves an entire want of original righteousness, together with a complete corruption of their nature.

3d. That God has, from eternity, chosen out of this state a portion of mankind to obtain eternal life, and passed by the others, ordaining them to eternal death.

4th. That Christ died for the elect only.

5th. That all the elect are effectually called, justified, and sanctified, and none but they.

6th. That the elect shall certainly persevere to the end, and be saved.

This general and rather indefinite acknowledgment of faith, was not altogether satisfactory, and therefore the synod which met at Boston, in 1679, of which the Rev. Increase Mather was moderator, held a second session, commencing on the 12th of May, 1680, at which was adopted the creed (for the main) of the Savoy Confession. As this creed differs in some respects from the Westminster Confession, it may be proper to notice some of its prominent features.

1. Of God's Eternal Decrees.*

"God from all eternity did by the most wise and holy counsel of his own *will*, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the *will* of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.

"Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all supposed conditions; yet hath he not decreed any thing, because he foresaw it as future, or that which would come to pass, upon such conditions.

"By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.

"These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number is so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

"Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereto, and all to the praise of his glorious grace.

"As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he by the eternal and most free purpose of his will foreordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season, are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power, through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, or effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.

"The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.

"The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending the will of God revealed in his word, and yielding obedience thereunto, may from

* Confession of Faith, chap. iii.

the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God, and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel."

*2. Of the fall of Man, of Sin, and of the Punishment thereof.**

"By this sin they, and we in them, fell from original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body.

"They being the root, and by God's appointment standing in the room and stead of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and corrupted nature conveyed, to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation.

"From this original corruption whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions."

3. Of Free Will.†

"God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty and power of acting upon choice, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined to do good or evil.

"Man, in his state of innocency, had freedom and power to will and to do that which was good and well pleasing to God; but yet mutably, so that he might fall from it.

"Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation, so as a natural man being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.

"When God converts a sinner, and translates him into the state of grace, he freeth him from his natural bondage under sin, and by his grace alone enables him freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good; yet so as that by reason of his remaining corruption, he doth not perfectly nor only will that which is good, but doth also will that which is evil.

"The will of man is made perfectly and immutably free to good alone in the state of glory only."

4. Of Effectual Calling.‡

"All those whom God hath predestinated unto life, and those only, he is pleased in his appointed and accepted time effectually to call by his word and spirit out of that state of sin and death in which they are by nature to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ, enlightening their minds spiritually and savingly to understand the things of God, taking away their heart of stone, and giving unto them a heart of flesh. Renewing their wills, and by his almighty power determining them to that which is good, and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ: yet so as they come most freely, being made willing by his grace.

* Conf. of Faith, chap. vi. sec. 2, 3, 4.

† Ib. chap. ix.

‡ Chap. x, sec. 1.

5. *Of the Perseverance of the Saints.**

"They whom God hath accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from a state of grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved.

"This perseverance of the saints depends not upon their own free will, but upon the immutability of the decree of election, from the free and unchangeable love of God the Father upon the efficacy of the merit and intercession of Jesus Christ, and union with him, the oath of God, the abiding of his Spirit, and the seed of God within them, and the nature of the covenant of grace, from all which ariseth also the certainty and infallibility thereof."

These quotations contain the more prominent distinctive features of the Boston Confession.

Soon after its adoption by the synod, that is on the 19th of the same month, it was presented to the general court then in session in Boston, and the following order was passed respecting it, viz. :—"This Court having taken into serious consideration the request that hath been presented by several of the reverend elders, in the name of the late synod, do approve thereof; and accordingly order the Confession of Faith agreed upon at their second session, and the Platform of Discipline, consented unto by the synod at Cambridge, in the year 1648, to be printed for the benefit of the Churches in present and after times." By the official adoption of the creed, the faith of the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth was clearly defined and settled, and the Boston Confession became the established system of these colonies.

In Connecticut the Churches considered themselves under the government of the Cambridge Platform, which they, by their representatives, had assisted in forming; and for sixty years their disciplinary and ecclesiastical operations were conducted according to its provisions and regulations. It appears, however, that they did not continue to be perfectly satisfied with it, and therefore the synod which met at Saybrook, in May, 1708, on the 13th of that month, adopted one which has since been known and designated by the title of the "Saybrook Platform." In connection with the adoption of this Platform, the following agreement respecting doctrines was entered into and declared by the members of that body, namely :—"We agree that the Confession of Faith, owned and assented unto by the elders and messengers assembled at Boston, in New England, May 12th, 1680, being the second session of that synod, be recommended to the honorable general assembly of this colony, at the next session, for their public testimony thereto, as the faith of the Churches of this colony."

By this act, that which had before been the established creed of Massachusetts and Plymouth, was made the creed of Connecticut also. Thus was New-England brought under the Boston Confession. All subsequent acts of Church and State went to establish more firmly this system of faith, in the adoption of which, there was so much unanimity, until at last the superstructure seemed to be based upon a rock.

* Conf. of Faith, chap. xvii. sec. 1, 2.

The creed, thus formally and solemnly adopted and sanctioned by both the Churches and legislative bodies throughout the principal New-England colonies, *has never been disannulled*; nor has it, by any legitimate official act, lost aught of its primary authority. *It yet remains in full force, and is at this day to be esteemed the established creed of the Calvinistic Churches in New-England.* If we find, therefore, a system differing in any respect from the Boston Confession, all such difference is evidently a departure from the pure Calvinism of New-England, and such it undoubtedly ought to be considered.

By examining the various theories, however, which have been brought into being since the general adoption of the Boston Confession, and comparing them with it, we shall perceive many very important and strongly marked discrepancies. Unexceptionable as the original Confession was supposed to be, perfect as was deemed the wisdom of the reverend synods which had adopted it, and sanctioned as it had been by the enactments of the representatives of the people; it was in time subjected to the ordeal of investigation and animadversion by men of inquiring minds. Bold innovators, while they admitted it in general as a whole, and retained the name of Calvinists, assumed the task, one after another, of explaining and modifying different parts of it, in a way to conform it to their particular views and tastes, until, in the multiplicity of changes, scarcely any thing of the old system was left by which it could be identified.

The first writer of any considerable note, who rose up in New-England, to explain and defend Calvinism, was Dr. Edwards, a man, on many accounts, admirably fitted for such a work. Dr. Edwards was possessed of a deeply metaphysical mind, and his education and habits were admirably calculated to foster his natural inclination for metaphysical pursuits. The Calvinistic theory, whose very elements originated in the mazes of abstruse and metaphysical speculations, afforded ample scope for the exercise of his peculiar genius. The principles of the creed, as they were understood, were gradually losing credit in the estimation of the public, as a general spirit of investigation prevailed among the people; and it was only for Dr. Edwards to throw around it the trappings of his inventive powers, by giving to the terms and propositions of which it was composed, such constructions and explanations as his metaphysical skill enabled him to weave to preserve it. No man ever succeeded better in so difficult a work. Pressed as he was by the powerful arguments of Whitby, (whom Dr. Griffin calls the prince of Arminians,) and others of the same school, perhaps no other man then living would have been able to succeed so well. But Dr. Edwards, having enlisted in a work for which nature and education had peculiarly fitted him, and constitutionally pertinacious of adhering with perseverance to whatever he had deliberately adopted, firmly stemmed the torrent of truth, which opposed him in all his course. If he failed by this effort to render the system he defended generally acceptable, he at least gained for himself an enviable reputation as a profound scholar, an acute metaphysician, and an amiable man.

The system advocated by Dr. Edwards differed in only a few

particulars from the Boston Confession. The following are the principal. The Confession held that effectual calling was, by "almighty power, determining men to that which is good." By this we understand a *direct* exertion of almighty power upon the will irresistibly constraining us to come to Christ. Dr. Edwards, on the contrary, taught that the will of man is like the balances of a merchant, and the weights used in turning the scales are by him made to consist in *motives*, the strongest of which, according to him, always and irresistibly prevails. To him, also, belongs, perhaps, the honor of binding the garland of "disinterested benevolence" around this mouldering system—a garland whose flowers were destined to wither long before its supporting column should fall.*

Dr. Bellamy was Dr. Edwards' principal coadjutor in his work, a helper by no means to be despised, or lightly to be set aside. These reverend divines succeeded in quieting, for awhile, at least in some degree, the feelings of opposition which were gaining in the public mind against the prominent doctrines of the dominant creed, by the new and less exceptionable dress in which they clothed them. But a spirit of investigation was abroad among the people; and encouraged as it was by these attempts at innovation, it soon found means to rend the veil, and bring to view the true characteristics of the new theory, which, with the more observing, were little, if any, less exceptionable than those of the old.

Not long after the death of Dr. Bellamy, Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, Rhode Island, wrote and published a "System of Divinity," in which he boldly left the old paths, abandoned the old chart and compass, and struck for himself and his adherents, a new course. Dr. Edwards had undoubtedly prepared the way for this new enterprise; as it appears that many of the materials from which Dr. Hopkins formed his system were obtained from him.

The distinctive features of this new system were:—

1. That all virtue or real holiness consists in disinterested benevolence. The object of benevolence is universal being, including God and all his intelligent creatures.
2. That all sin consists in selfishness, or an interested affection, by which a person sets himself up as the supreme or only object of regard, and nothing is lovely in his view, unless suited to promote his private interest.
3. There are no promises of regenerating grace made to the acts of the unregenerate.
4. That the impotency of sinners, with respect to believing in Christ, is not natural but moral; or that every man has a natural ability to do God's will, and that his inability consists wholly in disinclination, or not being willing.
5. In order to faith in Christ, the heart must approve all God does, though it were to cast off the soul for ever.

* We do not fully understand the import of this figure. But if the writer intends to say that the doctrine of "disinterested benevolence" is destined to be generally rejected by those professing themselves to be Calvinists, long before the distinctive principles which have always been considered as at the foundation of the Calvinistic creed, it must be deemed altogether problematical. In listening to the preaching of some of the new-divinity men of the day, one would think this garland is, in their estimation, just coming into bloom.

6. God is directly the cause of all sin.
7. Sin is, on the whole, a benefit.
8. Repentance is before saving faith.
9. Though men become sinners by Adam's sin, according to a Divine constitution, yet they are accountable for no sins but personal; for, 1. Adam's act was not the act of his posterity, and so they did not sin in him; 2. there could be, then, as there can be now, no transfer of sinfulness: therefore Adam's act was not the cause, but only the occasion upon which God brings men into the world sinners.
10. Christ's righteousness is not transferred to believers, but is so imparted that they are justified for Christ's sake.
11. God regenerates the heart by a direct action of the Spirit upon it, and not by means of light, or the word of God.
12. The atonement is universal.

In other points Dr. Hopkins agreed with the Confession; but in these it will be perceived that he departed widely from the old landmarks. With the Boston Confession they can never be made to harmonize. That Confession said nothing—knew nothing—of disinterested benevolence. This Roman relic, rejected by the Boston divines, was reserved to occupy an important place in the temple of Hopkinsianism. It was quarried in 1681, by Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, then in Rome, and imported into France by Lady Guion, to be wrought for her purposes by the hand of the amiable Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray. Thence it was brought by Dr. Edwards into America, and formed and shaped for a distinguished place in the edifice reared by Dr. Hopkins.

On the doctrine of the atonement there was a disagreement between the Boston Confession and the theory of Dr. Hopkins; the former asserting that it was limited to the elect, the latter affirming that it was made equally for all. The Confession also declared that God is not the author of sin, while the doctor as explicitly asserted that he is. The doctrine maintained in the Confession was, that we sinned in Adam, that of Dr. Hopkins, that we did not. On many other points there was a wide difference between them.

Notwithstanding the bold strides of this new scheme—notwithstanding it struck, in some of its peculiarities, at the very vitals of a system long cherished, and by some very nearly adored, it gained admirers and became popular. While Dr. Hopkins was busily engaged in the propagation of his faith, then called "new divinity:" a helper appeared in the person of Dr. Emmons, of Franklin, Mass. With a genius and discrimination which would not suffer by a comparison with those of Edwards or Hopkins, he wrote in a much more interesting style than either, and he won, by the flowing elegance of his diction, those whom he did not convince by the soundness of his arguments. The work was now fairly commenced, Hopkins and Emmons labored like brethren in the same field, and every thing for a time conspired to give promise of a bountiful harvest. The pulpits rang with the peculiarities of Hopkinsianism. The groaning press sent out its swarms of publications to elucidate and amplify them. And multitudes of young men, candidates for the ministry, flocked to Dr. Emmons, the Gamaliel of New-England, for instruction in the mysteries of this new theology.

True, they had difficulties neither few nor small to contend with. They were charged with departing from pure Calvinism, and of introducing heresy into the Church. Opposition met them on every hand; but it did not arrest the spread of their tenets. They continued daily to make proselytes, and gain new acquisitions to their party. Among the causes of this success may be reckoned the fact, that the advocates of the new divinity strenuously insisted that it was Calvinism, explained, of course, according to its true import; and the people had been taught that whatever bore this image and superscription, was to be heartily received. People, too, delight in new and strange things, and will not startle at the marvellous, even in religion, if it bear an old and familiar name. Dr. Hopkins was understood to have made wonderful discoveries in the deep mysteries of Calvinistic theology; and while the multitude were amazed at what they saw and heard, the inclinations of curiosity, which had been highly excited, prepared them for an easy adoption of whatever might be presented for their acceptance. The principal thing, however, which gave the system footing, was the prevailing supposition that it furnished a solution for many of the difficulties with which the old creed had been charged, while it was not yet understood that that which professed to explain every thing needed itself to be explained.

Whatever was the cause, such was the fact, that very many of the Churches fell in with this new theory; and it seemed at one time like a mighty tide sweeping all before it. Hope beat high in the bosoms of its friends, and the smile of triumph sat upon their countenances when the sun of its glory had reached its meridian.

But a darker day awaited the Calvinistic Churches of New-England. Our Puritan fathers were unfortunate in bringing with them those peculiar religious sentiments, and their sons were no less so in their attempts to reduce them to form by their adoption of the Boston Confession. They were unfortunate, not barely because they were opposed alike to the common sense of mankind, and the better feelings of the heart, and could not, therefore, long be popular, but also because their practical effect was in time to produce a cold and heartless formality in the Churches. Had they, with their strong masculine integrity and manly enterprise, connected those evangelical principles, whose tendency is to superinduce constant watchfulness and steady perseverance in all the departments of religious duty, such as the rational understanding will approve and the word of God sustain, results much more beneficial to the cause of piety and to the world at large would undoubtedly have resulted from their pilgrimage to the new world. But it was certainly not well calculated to stir up the spirit of faith, and inspire the ardor of love, to teach men that all events are brought to pass by the will of God; so that we effect, in the circumstances which surround us, no change from the purpose of God, which was fixed before all worlds,—that the salvation of a certain number of mankind is unalterably fixed by the same purpose, and the inevitable ruin of all the rest is equally sure,—and that, consequently, let men do what they will, they can accomplish nothing toward altering or changing their fate. Such views of the Divine economy have surely

little in them calculated to lead men to seek and serve God fervently.

But, little as these views were adapted to the purposes of spiritual instruction and edification, those of the new school were scarcely better. They were well calculated to gratify the curious and metaphysical, but not to feed the flock of Christ. In the confusion of thought which ordinary minds must have experienced in following such writers as Edwards, Bellamy, Hopkins, and Emmons, through the labyrinths of their philosophical disquisitions, they could not but be ill qualified for an exercise of those rational feelings of experimental piety which characterize the truly devout. And even to those who could follow them through their reasonings, and readily connect their deductions with their premises, what was to be gained on the score of piety? What resulted in any respect other than a disposition for contentious disputations—the very reverse of the spirit of Christianity? However it is to be accounted for, the Churches had become cold, and, in many instances, scarcely any thing remained but the form of godliness.

The old system, together with its various modifications and amendments, had another evil attending it. It obtained credit among a certain class with extreme difficulty. This class consisted of the more wealthy and influential, many of whom had too much in this world to occupy their minds to pay much attention to the next. With hearts unhumbled by the truth of the Gospel, they cherished strong feelings of opposition against being considered not only dependent, but dependent reprobates. When the spirit of inquiry was awakened by Edwards and others, all the objections which they had secretly entertained against the system were called forth to bear openly upon it. Those who had taken the lead in rousing the spirit of inquiry were unable satisfactorily to answer these objections. Success emboldened the objectors to press the investigation; and the spirit of discontent increased and spread, until a rupture was inevitable.

When this commenced, it was seen how far the leaven had extended. By many of the Churches, Calvinism, in every form, was renounced; and the houses of worship, with their owners, passed to another denomination. The venerable Harvard was transferred in like manner. Blow after blow was struck; and when the conflict ceased the former possessors of this goodly heritage found that it was wasted and desolate, while a mock Christianity looked out from her palace of security on the wild ruin she had wrought, and smiled in unholy triumph over the wide-spread desolation.

Nearly at the same time that Unitarianism gained the ascendancy in Massachusetts, a new system sprang up out of the elements of Calvinism, in Connecticut. The Rev. Mr. Huntington, of Coventry, left a work which was published after his death, entitled, "Calvinism Improved." The main point aimed at in this work was, that the election of God, instead of embracing a few only, extended to the whole human family; and that, consequently, all would finally be saved. The reasoning was specious, and precisely of the kind suited to the inclinations and feelings of multitudes who were wedded to their sins, and were pleased, therefore, to be furnished with so admirable a mantle to cover the enormity

of their transgressions, and quiet the agitations of their consciences. This doctrine of universal salvation was accordingly received with much applause and loud rejoicing. On this generic principle of a certain and final salvation to all, several theories have been founded, differing slightly in the minuter details, but all vindicating the broad ground that God will not suffer any of his intelligent creatures to be eternally miserable. To this standard thousands have flocked, under the comprehensive name of Universalists. As it is natural for man to pass from one extreme to another, it is clearly perceived with how much ease those who had become disgusted with the peculiarities of Calvinism passed over to the opposite extreme; armed as they were against every sober consideration of the true medium, by the prejudices they had imbibed from hearing it perpetually disparaged and repudiated, as the grossest and most dangerous heresy. Tired, as many evidently were, of the old system and the endless metaphysical essays to amend it,—sick to loathing of the dogmas of the more bigoted and supercilious to force it upon their belief and acceptance, the new schemes of Unitarianism in Massachusetts, and Universalism in Connecticut, afforded them the relief and protection, at least in their estimation, which they anxiously desired; and to these they resorted the more readily, and, we may add, especially, as they were in perfect accordance with the unrenewed feelings of the heart, and laid them under no severe restraints with respect to the indulgence of those feelings.

Under such circumstances, it is not to be wondered at, that the falling off from the orthodox party was so great. The more wealthy, learned, and influential went over to the Unitarians; and the lower classes—the more ignorant and corrupt—to the Universalists. Thus were the operations and influence of the orthodox Calvinists extensively narrowed down in New-England. Experience is a hard schoolmaster; but if the lessons it imparts are not purchased at too dear a rate, they are often of the most serviceable kind. It is a fact, we believe, now generally acknowledged, that the style and manner in which the peculiarities of Calvinism were enforced upon the people, were imperative and dogmatical to a degree calculated to give offence. The result of these evolutions in the Church taught those concerned the propriety of adopting a more conciliatory method of propagating their faith. This evidently followed. Greater caution was observed in speaking of the more objectionable features of the old Orthodox creed. They were entirely kept out of view, or shrouded under an obscure and ambiguous phraseology, which rendered them less offensive, while those which were generally approved, were set out in bold relief; and all possible pains were taken so to accommodate the system to the state of the times as to render its acceptance general. The new light of disinterested benevolence proved too faint and dim to satisfy the public mind. The revolting dogma, that God is the author of sin, was rejected, or held in a modified form. Upon the “horrible decree” of reprobation, as Calvin very properly called it, men instinctively frowned. All these were so modified, and held out in such terms, as tended much to conciliate public opinion and public feeling. We cannot indeed say that ten years since any essential alteration had taken place in the principles which had in former

times been strenuously advocated by the Calvinistic churches ; but certain we are, that the mode of explaining them had been materially changed, and that in many particulars the system had received a new dress, if not a new body.

Things were at that period becoming more settled. The people had consented to receive an enlarged and improved edition of Hopkins' Universal Atonement, as containing the true Bible doctrine ; and they seemed content to believe, as they were taught, "that the sinner could repent if he would," teachers not feeling themselves bound in their ordinary administrations to inform them that none would until God made them willing. The angry wave of contention between the parties of Orthodox and Unitarian into which the Churches had been divided, were fast subsiding, and all was becoming calm and peaceful, when a new storm broke upon them.

A controversy had been carried on for some time between Dr. Woods of the Andover school, and Dr. Ware, professor of divinity at Harvard. It was during this controversy that the peculiar sentiments of Dr. Taylor, then pastor of a Church in New-Haven, Conn., began to be known. He was understood by his friends to take the side of Dr. Ware, on the doctrine of original sin, and the moral character of infants. It was not long before Dr. Taylor's sentiments on these points began to be broached in New-Haven. Soon after the plan of a theological seminary in connection with Yale college was projected, which was finally carried into effect, and Dr. Taylor placed at the head of it. From the circumstances under which this institution was brought into existence, some have been led to conclude that it was designed as a stage to elevate Dr. Taylor, for the purpose of giving him the better opportunity to exhibit and defend his peculiar sentiments to advantage. After this institution went into operation, the tide of this new divinity daily rose, until its streams were sent out to water the Churches of Connecticut, and cause them to bring forth their increase. It was not, however, until the 10th of Sept., 1828, that Dr. Taylor's sentiments were fully and distinctly set forth in a tangible form. In a "concio ad clerum," preached by him at that time, are contained his remarks on Eph. ii, 3 ; the two main pillars of the system now dignified by the title of "New Divinity," an appellation once given to Hopkinsianism only. A review of Dr. Spring on Regeneration soon followed, in which the new-divinity mode of conversion was laid down as consisting in "desperate efforts," and a "suspension of the selfish principle." Those who had suspected that all was not right in New-Haven, now became fully convinced that their fears were well founded. The sentiments of Dr. Taylor were too distinctly avowed to be misunderstood, and their wide departure from Calvinism was too evident to be mistaken. Anxious, however, that all might be done that consistently could be, to retrieve the reputation of so eminent a divine, calls for explanation, retraction, &c., were made and echoed from every quarter. His positions were examined, arguments incessantly urged against them, and every opportunity given him to show himself a consistent Calvinist. In his attempts to do this, however, he utterly failed. It is true, he charged his opposers with misunderstanding his doctrine, and mis-

representing his arguments, but has failed in making out either; and he must be considered as departing from the old paths of Calvinistic theology until he can place his theory in a light in which he has not yet exhibited it. In a letter to Dr. Hawes containing a statement of his faith, he has indeed adopted a phraseology very similar to that we find in the old Calvinistic creed; but in the notes subjoined, he has so explained and modified these expressions as to make them mean what, to the common sense of a plain reader, they would hardly be supposed to mean. After all his explanations and modifications, to place his views before the public, in the light in which it is presumed he wishes them understood, we think we are warranted by various authorities, in saying that Dr. Taylor teaches—

1. That God has not foreordained the existence of sin, as foreordination is generally understood; but that he determined to create a world to which he foresaw sin would be incidental, and that so far as a determination to create under such circumstances is foreordination of sin, so far God has foreordained sin, and no farther.

2. That sin, as such, is not the necessary means of the greater good; and God does not, all things considered, prefer it to holiness in those cases where it exists.

3. That election is the purpose of God to save all who comply with the terms of salvation, connected with the certainty to the Divine mind, of the number and persons who will comply.

4. That depravity consists in unholy action. This is natural, because such is the nature of man that he will in all the appropriate circumstances of his being sin and only sin. Yet that nature which thus becomes the occasion of sin, is not itself sin, because this would be to make the cause of all sin itself sinful.

5. As there is no specific tendency to sin in the human mind, distinct from the natural appetites implanted in man at his creation, so regeneration does not consist in a change of constitutional propensities, but in the change of the choice or governing purpose.

6. The inability to comply with the terms of salvation, on the part of the sinner, consists wholly in disinclination, all having a natural ability to do the will of God.

7. Until conversion, the grace of God is resisted successfully by the sinner, and *in* conversion the selfish principle is suspended, and God's grace is not resisted; the sinner looking upon God and self, the objects of choice, chooses God as his governor, and his service as his supreme good.

Such are some of the peculiarities of the New-Haven theology. Against this theory, Dr. Griffin, of Williamstown college, Dr. Woods, of Andover, and Dr. Tyler, of the East Windsor school, arrayed a powerful opposition. In this they were aided by the Rev. Mr. Harvey, at present editor of the *Watchman*, a paper established at Hartford, Conn., in opposition to the doctrine of the new-school divinity. These gentlemen have made a united and firm stand against the New-Haven innovations, with how much success remains to be seen in after times.

On reviewing the brief sketch above, it will readily be perceived that there is a wide difference between the doctrines adopted by Dr. Taylor, and those set forth in the Boston Confession. In his

views on predestination, Dr. Taylor approaches very near to Arminianism. The only matter of surprise is, that the abettors of the scheme persist in calling that Calvinism which accords so nearly with what was taught by Arminius, Wesley, Whitby, and others of the same school; and which distinguishes the Arminian from the Calvinistic creed by one of the strongest points of difference between them. Dr. Taylor, however, probably has his object in view, and it may be deemed impertinent in us to interfere.

On the subject of depravity the New-Haven theology is undoubtedly Pelagian: and, as such, we cannot of course account it evangelical. It is calculated, in its very nature, to subvert the doctrines of the atonement and regeneration; and, thus far, at least, makes a deadly thrust at the very vitals of Christianity. The views set forth in this system on the subject of human depravity, when thoroughly imbibed, naturally prepare their advocates for farther departure from evangelical truth, until they land in the mazes of universal doubt, or downright infidelity. Dr. Taylor's views of regeneration in particular, appear to us singularly anomalous, and incapable of classification with any thing we ever saw in the shape of systematic theology. On these points we have noticed an inveterate warfare has been carried on between Dr. Taylor and his brethren above named; while on others, as the final perseverance of the saints, &c., they appear to be agreed.

What will be the end of these disputes it is difficult to predict. Whether Dr. Taylor and his adherents will go back to old Calvinism, (of which, by the way, there is little prospect,) or settle on the medium ground of consistent Arminianism, or whether they will adopt some newly modified theory, or finally push their speculations beyond all systems which are deemed in any wise evangelical, it is impossible, at this period, to tell. The probability, however, appears to be in favor of the latter. When we begin to sip at error's fountain, each draught prepares us for a larger one, until, like Behemoth drawing the waters of Jordan, we quaff the turbid fountain to its dregs. Such, there is reason to fear, will be the course of the New-Haven theologians. Separating from the old path, as they have, on the doctrine of depravity, it is hardly to be expected that they will steer clear of other errors which stand in intimate connection with this.

The principles of this new divinity are already widely spread through the country, and are exerting a strong influence in gaining adherents. We cannot but look with fearful apprehensions upon the result, if these views of depravity be carried out in their legitimate bearing to form a systematic consistent whole, and the theory become popular among the Churches. Then may it indeed be said, "What the locust hath left the palmer worm hath eaten." Already has the world been presented with a view of some of the results of the new theories and new measures of the day, in the distorted and misshapen creed of the Perfectionists—a creed far more worthy to have for its author Peter, the hermit, or one of the fanatical French prophets, than men theologically educated in the nineteenth century. Who, but such wild adventurers in theological speculations, could have put forth a creed which declares that the world came to an end and eternity commenced eighteen hundred years ago; that we

are free from all law ; that sin in believers is absolutely impossible ; that the apostles were not Christians ; and that Christ himself did not live to see the latter-day glory—a creed which by its very terms is calculated to overturn all order, and swallow up in the vortex of mad confusion every guardian principle ordained by the Author of our social existence to protect whatever is lovely and to be loved ? It must be left to time, however, to develop the results of this division—for a division it really is, and bids fair to increase in its extension—among the Churches which range under the Calvinistic name in New-England.

The following quotation, from Dr. Fisk's Calvinistic Controversy, will show how they are classed at present, from the advocates of the parent, the old Boston Confession, to the youngest branch of the family. The language of the quotation is :—

“The present advocates of predestination and particular election may be divided into four classes. 1. The old school Calvinists. 2. Hopkinsians. 3. Reformed Hopkinsians. 4. Advocates of new divinity. By Reformed Hopkinsians, I mean (says he) those who have left out of their creed Dr. Hopkins' doctrine of disinterested benevolence, Divine efficiency in producing sin, &c. ; yet hold to a general atonement, natural ability, &c. These constitute doubtless the largest division of the ‘class’ in New-England. Next, as to numbers, the new school ; then Hopkinsians ; and, last, the old school.”

Such, then, are the subdivisions into which this great body is broken. Time was when they were one. But a confusion of tongues has come among them, and they are scattered, and scattered probably never more harmoniously to unite. We cannot withhold our expressions of regret that this body of vigorous and enterprising Christians and Christian divines adopted at the first a creed containing elements so obnoxious—embracing, as many believe, the essence of fatalism—and subjected themselves to the task of expending their energies in endeavoring to sustain its peculiarities. Had it been a consistent Arminian creed, the ills the Church has been called to suffer might, we must be allowed to think, have been averted. But circumstances, it seems, were such, that there were, perhaps, no just grounds, at the time, to look for any thing other than an adoption of the Boston Confession.

That the evils which have followed could not, by some means, have been avoided, is matter of regret, on many accounts. It is painful to see things in operation calculated to sweep away the fair inheritance of the Churches in Massachusetts, and the very means which first caused these things employed to arrest their progress. It is painful to see bickerings and eruptions in a sister Church, and secessions from it. And it is especially painful to contemplate this state of conflict and strife, and to see that there are so many who love to have it so.

While the Calvinistic Churches have been passing through these scenes of commotion, those of the Arminian faith have had peace in their borders, and increased rapidly. To their influence, in part at least, is to be attributed the fact that Universalism has not prevailed as extensively as its sister error Unitarianism. The former came into being under circumstances in which the influence of Ar-

minianism could be brought to bear upon it, and that influence was rendered evident, in checking the tide and arresting its progress; while the latter was kept at such a remove from this influence, that it could not sensibly affect it, and the flood has rolled on resistlessly. In every view of this subject the Arminian Churches are admonished of the importance of standing by the old landmarks. Let their system be placed before the public, and its distinctive peculiarities exhibited in a clear and explicit manner, so as to be examined and understood by all, and its efficacy will be felt in staying the desolation which seems so fearfully to threaten us. The time undoubtedly hastens when truth will prevail, and its benign influences be poured out like ointment upon the hearts of men. There may be years of darkness first. But that period will eventually arrive, bright and glorious, when men shall know the truth, and the truth shall make them FREE.

RELIGIOUS ANNIVERSARIES LATELY HELD IN LONDON.

A Review of the Proceedings at the Annual Celebrations of a number of Benevolent Institutions, held in London, during the months of April and May, 1836.

THE effect of the operations of benevolent enterprises upon the various states and conditions of society generally—uprooting inveterate prejudices and overturning institutions long consecrated to error and superstition—is so silent and gradual, that it is difficult to perceive at once the precise extent of it during any given period of time. Hence it is that efficient agencies are put in operation, and great moral enterprises carried on, while the multitude are scarcely sensible of any movements of the kind among them. Even those who are interested in them are not affected by the strong emotions of animating feeling, or impulses of inspiring hope, by observing steadily the slow and gradual progress of their labors, which a view of sudden and palpable changes is calculated to produce. But there is a method by which we may bring before the mind's eye a distinct view of the amount of good effected by any system of benevolent operations, during a given period, in a way calculated to produce all the effect of a sudden change. It is by comparing the extremes—the end with the beginning—the condition of the people before, with what it was after such means had been employed for their benefit. The difference, in that case, will show the extent of the influence, as well as its character and tendency.

It is an interesting fact, that the institutions of benevolence—that benevolence which corresponds in its characteristic features to the spirit of the Gospel, as developed in the Acts of the Apostles and the conduct of primitive Christians—are of recent origin. The

earlier efforts to carry the Gospel among the heathen, with few exceptions, were carried on under the sanction and control of civil rulers, and many of them for political purposes. But that system of benevolence which has its source in individual piety—in that love to God and man which seeks to expand itself in doing good to the most wretched and needy—and which manifests itself in the spirit of self-consecration to the service of God, and an enlarged liberality in supporting his cause, is traceable to a late period—a period since the commencement of the great revival of evangelical piety under the labors of Wesley, Whitefield, and others; and it may be justly set down as one of the fruits of that remarkable work. The spirit of benevolence, as it appears in the institutions of the day, is peculiar in almost all respects, and shines eminently in comparison with every thing which has passed under that name, excepting only that of the earliest ages of Christianity. It aims not at human aggrandizement. It is not narrowed down to the contracted limits of a sectarian bigotry, or to sectional and local prejudices. It comes not to the objects it proposes to bless, carrying the cross in one hand and the sword in the other, demanding at once faith in Him who is represented by the one, and a servile submission to the dreaded despot who enforces his mandates by the other. Such abuses of the precious cross have begotten in the breasts of many of the poor heathen a just abhorrence of all who came to them in the name of missionaries of Christ. But it comes to them breathing good will—and thereby dispelling all fear and suspicion—and it finds in them a readiness to receive it, and a desire to share in its benefits, so soon as they are brought to appreciate its heaven-born excellences.

In this light we are constrained to view the benevolent institutions which have been gotten up within the last half century; and a single view of what has been effected by them in different parts of the world, and what from their nature and tendency they promise to effect, within the same period to come, affords much reason for thankfulness to God, and encouragement to his people.

To these reflections we have been led by a perusal of the doings of several benevolent societies, whose annual celebrations were held in the city of London, during the months of April and May last. A full account of these proceedings may be found in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, for June, 1836; from which we copy. Believing that it will be both interesting and profitable to our readers, we proceed to lay before them such extracts from the proceedings of these meetings, as may serve to give a consecutive view of the whole.

1. THE WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—The proceedings preparatory to the anniversary of this society are stated by the editor of the Magazine, as follows:—

“We discharge a duty highly gratifying to ourselves, and equally interesting, we are persuaded, to our numerous readers, by putting on permanent record the favor and blessing with which it has pleased God to accompany the proceedings of the Society, during the recent celebration of its anniversary.

“The religious services connected with this occasion commenced very appropriately and profitably, by a public meeting for prayer, held in the City-road chapel, on Tuesday evening, April 26th.

“On Wednesday evening, April 27th, the annual meeting of the Auxiliary Society for the London district was held in Great Queen-street chapel. Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart., M. P., kindly presided, and was most cordially welcomed by a crowded and highly respectable assembly, who testified, in no equivocal manner, their deep and unabated interest in that great subject with which the name and parliamentary exertions of the honorable baronet are so laudably identified. An able report was read by the Rev. P. C. Turner, one of the district secretaries. The several resolutions were moved and seconded by the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, of Upper Canada; Joseph Carne, Esq., of Penzance; the Rev. Peter M’Owan, of London; the Rev. Samuel Young, late missionary in Caffraria; G. B. Thorneycroft, Esq., of Wolverhampton; the Rev. Robert Wood, of Manchester; the Rev. John Hannah, of London; Mr. Alderman Pawson, of Leeds; Lancelot Haslope, Esq., of London; and J. S. Elliot, Esq., of Denmark-hill, Surrey. The collection, which very considerably exceeded that of the preceding year, was liberally aided by a donation of £5 from John Ryle, Esq., M. P. for Macclesfield, accompanied by a letter, in which Mr. Ryle stated his regret that he was unavoidably prevented from being present at the meeting.

“On Thursday evening, April 28th, the first of the three annual sermons, usually preached before the general society, was preached in the City-road chapel, at the special request of the committee, by the Rev. Jabez Bunting, D. D., of London. The text was Rom. xv, 15–21.

“The second sermon was delivered in Great Queen-street chapel, on the forenoon of Friday, April 29th, by the Rev. Theophilus Lessey, of Liverpool, who pleaded the cause of the society, which has long recognized him as one of its most laborious and eloquent advocates, in a powerful discourse founded on Malachi i, 11.

“On Friday evening, April 29th, the Rev. Robert Wood, of Manchester, preached before the society in the Spitalfields chapel, on Rev. vii, 9–17. ‘The subject,’ says one of the public journals, ‘formed an appropriate sequel to the preceding discourses, and furnished an appropriate opportunity of glancing at the final results of the missionary enterprise.’

“On no former occasion, it is believed, were the religious services preparatory to the general meeting of the society, more distinctly marked by a feeling of hallowed zeal and renewed devotedness to the great cause of God, and of the world’s salvation, than that which appeared to influence the congregations of the present year.

“On Sunday, May 1st, the annual sermons for the Wesleyan missions were preached in all the chapels of the connection in London and its immediate vicinity, by the Rev. Robert Newton, the Rev. Theophilus Lessey, the Rev. Robert Wood, the Rev. Thomas Waugh, of Belfast: the Rev. William Shaw, who is expected shortly to resume his successful missionary labors in Caffraria; and the preachers of the London district. To all the ministers thus employed, the best thanks of the society are respectfully and affectionately tendered.

“On Monday, May 2d, the general meeting was held in Exeter Hall; and continued from eleven o’clock till nearly six. The chair was most ably and

acceptably filled by Sir Oswald Mosley, Baronet, M. P. for North Staffordshire; and, at a later period, when Sir Oswald was obliged to vacate it, by the call of urgent parliamentary duties, by the Right Honorable Lord Mountsandford. So numerous was the attendance of members and friends, from almost every part of the town and country, that the large hall was quite inadequate to their reception, and many hundreds were unable to obtain admission. On the platform there was the usual gratifying assemblage of ministers and gentlemen of other religious denominations, who kindly embraced this opportunity of evincing the catholicity of their spirit, and their generous interest in every department of the cause and work of our common Lord and Saviour. To the Wesleyan society, whose maxim and endeavor it has always been, to prove themselves 'the friends of all, the enemies of none,' it will ever be a subject of the highest exultation and thankfulness to see their anniversary meeting thus distinguished by the presence of those who constitute a sort of practical representation of the various sections of the universal Church of Christ.

"The collections and donations received during this anniversary, or in immediate connection with it, were unusually liberal; and our readers will, we are persuaded, find abundant reason, on the review of the whole proceedings, to 'thank God, and take courage.' Yet, let it not be forgotten that the expenditure of the society, as was to be anticipated from the extended and diversified field which its operations now embrace, and from the very large additions lately made to the number of its missionaries, schoolmasters, and other agents, has increased, during the last year, in a proportion far exceeding even the large and glorious increase of its income. Many of our existing stations absolutely require a farther reinforcement of laborers. British India, in particular—which, we have rejoiced to perceive, has at length begun to attract, in a more just and adequate degree than heretofore, the attention of the various missionary societies of this country, and which furnished, perhaps, the most prominent topic of their recent anniversaries—imperatively demands from us all, and from our own society among the rest, more vigorous efforts on behalf of the more than one hundred millions of its wretched and idolatrous inhabitants. Our missions in Caffraria, and in other parts of Southern Africa, must be immediately resumed and enlarged. In the West Indies, 'more missionaries, more chapels, more schools,' are importunately requested, and are essential to the completion and final success of that great work of mercy which our country has so nobly commenced for the benefit of the negro population, to whom our debt is so large, and chargeable with arrears so peculiarly obligatory on our justice, as well as on our benevolence. New openings, too, present themselves in every direction; 'for the field is the world.' 'There remaineth very much land to be possessed.' An annual income even of one hundred thousand pounds might, by the promised blessing of God, be usefully expended by our own society alone. Let our friends, therefore, account nothing done, while so much remains undone. Let rich and poor, ministers and people, renew and redouble their exertions in this holy cause. Let the steady and regular efforts of the auxiliary and branch societies during the year correspond to the high feeling and noble enthusiasm which have been displayed at the public meetings of the parent society, and of other anniversaries recently celebrated. Let prayer—earnest, united, and believing prayer—for the success of the Gospel, be made continually, in every closet, in every family, in every Christian circle and congregation. Let the true and most appalling case of the perishing heathen be more distinctly and continually brought under the notice of the people of this country, in all the height, and depth, and length, and breadth of its enormous wretchedness and peril, by ministers in their pulpits, and by the speakers on our platforms. Let every anniversary sermon and speech be more strictly missionary, in its leading character, and topics, and tendency; avoiding, for the most part, minor and merely incidental subjects and illustrations, lest they should injuriously divert public

attention and feeling from those stirring facts and solemn duties which are directly relevant to the occasion, and which alone can effectually awaken the Church from the slumber of ages, and arouse it to a practical sense of its long neglected duties. The following account of the proceedings at the late meeting in Exeter Hall is taken, with some abridgments, corrections, and additions, from that excellent weekly newspaper, 'The Watchman,' of Wednesday, May 4th.

"At eleven o'clock, the Rev. Richard Reece, president of the conference, gave out the psalm, 'From all that dwell below the skies;' and called upon the Rev. Robert Newton to engage in prayer.

"Lancelot Haslope, Esq., one of the general treasurers, then announced that Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., had most kindly accepted the invitation of the committee to preside on this occasion, to which announcement the meeting responded by unanimous cheers."

SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, on taking the chair, made the following frank and ingenuous avowal of the feelings he entertained toward the society, and the motives which induced him to comply with the invitation he had received to serve them as chairman of the meeting.

"I owe it, my friends, in justice to myself, and also for your satisfaction, perhaps, to make a few observations upon the reasons that have induced me to accept the elevated position which I have now the honor of filling. A sincere and devoted member, as I am, of the established Church of England, and an ardent admirer of her doctrines and discipline, I did, I confess, at first, feel some degree of hesitation in identifying myself, as it were, with a society that differed from her, in however slight a degree. But my friends, when I considered that your great founder was a most eminent and bright example of excellence in our established Church—when I also knew, that many of my friends around me—indeed, I might almost say, I hope, all belonging to the Wesleyan society—have most fearlessly and manfully stood forward in advocating the cause of our established Church, at a period when it is surrounded by no common dangers; above all, when I recollected the labor of love in which you are engaged, and the extent of your operations in every part of the world, every shadow of a doubt was dissipated from my mind; I at once cordially embraced the invitation that was offered to me; and I here tender my poor services in aid of a society whose desire is to evangelize the whole world. Happy am I to perceive, my friends, from a perusal of some of your past reports, that general success has attended your efforts. Happy am I to perceive that new stations are called for in the most remote parts of the world; that stations already occupied by your missionary societies have increased doubly and trebly their members within a few years; and that you have now some thousands of children under your care, of benighted heathens, educating them in the pure principles and doctrines of Christianity. But, my friends, the Lord has thus far been pleased to crown your labors with success; and I would humbly ask, *why* he has been graciously pleased to do so? Because the plan of your operations is founded upon the 'Rock of ages;' because you preach to the distant nations of the world 'Christ Jesus and him crucified;' because you, like the great apostle of the Gentiles, step forward to tell the heathen nations, that both Jews and Gentiles are poor sinners by nature—that none of them can be justified before God by any works of the law; because, moreover, you tell them that no one can come to Christ Jesus to be saved, except through the operations of the Holy Spirit. It is, my friends, on these purely scriptural doctrines, that you have planted your standard on a foundation that cannot be shaken; your good cause will go on prospering and to prosper, until, in the words of the hymn you have just sung,

"Suns shall rise and set no more."

My friends, armed in this way, your missionaries go forth from their native land; they take the word of God, that sword of the Spirit, whose Divine power is able to overcome all difficulties. They traverse alike the dark dense forests of North America, and the arid plains of Southern Africa; they brave the rigid cold of the high Alps, and the oppressive heat of a West Indian climate; they go forward in their Christian course, sowing the seeds of Gospel truth in the remote islands of the Pacific Ocean, in Van Diemen's Land, in New-Zealand, and in all the most remote corners of the earth. The fields are already white to the harvest; and you have only to send forth more laborers into the harvest to collect the fruits of what has been so auspiciously sown. Many difficulties have already been overcome. There was one great difficulty which the labors of the society had to encounter; I mean the diversity of languages—that permanent proof of the past presumption of rebellious man; but now the diversity of languages forms no longer an insuperable barrier to the labors of the missionaries. Aided by the benevolence of this society, and that of kindred societies also, they have been enabled to overcome that great difficulty. The press, that powerful engine for good or for evil, has been introduced into distant climes. The fruits of that press are able either to make men wise unto salvation, or, on the other hand, they are able to taint with polluting poison the inmost recesses of the soul. Thank God, you have employed the press for the legitimate use of magnifying the great God who made us. My friends, thus armed with the powers of the press, and above all with the energy of an almighty power, what is there to oppose your progress? I feel that it would be an act of impertinence, on my part, farther to trespass on your time; particularly when I know that you will have a most able report read to you, in which the operations of the society, during the past year, will be fully exhibited; and when I know that the subject will be farther elucidated by the powerful speeches of many gentlemen who are about to address you from this platform. I shall no longer intrude upon your time than to request the secretary to be kind enough to read the report."

Dr. Bunting, one of the secretaries, read an extract of the report, upon which,

SIR ANDREW AGNEW, Bart., M. P. for Wigtonshire, arose to move the following resolution, viz:—

"That the Report, of which an abstract has now been read, be received and printed."

The speaker commenced by commending the report, particularly that feature of it which represented the missionaries as going to the heathen with "the simple story of the cross." "I venture to prophesy," said he, "that if they are but faithful in that one truth, the noble design of your great founder will one day be realized." After noticing some of the facts detailed in the report, he added, "Your report contains nothing but that which is gratifying;—a large increase of missions, if I understand right,—a large increase of missionaries,—and an increase of funds." In alluding to some opposition with which one of the missionaries had met in Spain, he said, "I am pleased with that portion of the report; opposition is absolutely necessary to stimulate us to exertion; it is required to call out our energies, and to drive the lukewarm from their strongholds." As one of the warm advocates in parliament, of reform

respecting an observance of the Sabbath, it was natural that he should give his remark, a turn to embrace this cognate topic, which he accordingly did.

"Sir, said he, I beg pardon for alluding to a subject not particularly before the meeting—the recent effort made to obtain legislative protection for those who are anxious to enjoy without interruption or annoyance the privileges of the Christian Sabbath; but I am so desirous of expressing a peculiar gratitude to the Wesleyan body, for assistance given elsewhere, that I really cannot restrain that desire. Sir, you mentioned, in your excellent opening address, the feelings or the motives which influenced you in taking the chair, being, as you are, a member of the established Church of this country. I am, sir, also a member of that established Church; but the feeling which passed through your mind is not new to me. I went through it last year; and, therefore, this year I had not a shadow of hesitation in coming to this meeting; being well convinced that the established Church of this country, and its sister Church in Scotland, with which I am closely connected, have not any better friends than the friends I now see before me. Sir, I look forward with pleasure to seeing in this room to-morrow another crowded meeting for the Church Missionary Society; but that society cannot find a better coadjutor than the present; and I do trust that, year after year, they will run thus side by side, provoking one another to love and to good works. I may perhaps mention one other inducement which I have to look with peculiar affection upon the Wesleyan missions. The remarks, so frequently made in the course of that report, respecting one, amid the many other beneficial influences produced by this society's missions upon different sorts of men, in various parts of the world, have been such, that I cannot denominate your society otherwise, in my own estimation, than one great universal Lord's-day Society. I feel myself incompetent to pursue the subject farther; but I am quite sure it is not by the competency of the speakers to-day that this society will prosper, but by the simple statement of facts: however able may be the speakers who plead, they cannot alter the facts. It is for the tokens and proofs of the blessing of God upon your society, that you should this day raise your hearts in gratitude to almighty God. One fact I will notice. I think it is fully admitted; and I believe every-day experience seems to impress men more and more with the truth, dwelt on in the report, that the true way to civilize the world is to evangelize it, and to evangelize the world is to tell the simple story of the cross."

JOHN HARDY, Esq., M. P. for Bradford, in Yorkshire, was announced by the secretary as chairman last year. He said,

"Sir, though a member like yourself, of the Church of England, I can sympathize with you in all those feelings for the missionary exertions of a society of fellow Christians so nearly allied to us; a society whose doctrines and whose discipline are separated from us by points so evanescent, that they are below the notice of any real Christian. I, therefore, shall always rejoice with unfeigned joy when I see Christ preached, be it even of envy or of strife; but when I see him preached of good will, along with the missionaries of our own Church, as he is by the members of this society, my joy is unspeakable."

In seconding the resolution previously offered, he proceeded in a speech of considerable length, to express the interest he felt in the missionary cause, and to commend it to the prayers and favorable regards of the Christian public. He supported his remarks by appropriate allusions to Scripture examples, designed to show the importance of having good works accompany good wishes, in order

to the success of any benevolent enterprise. In conclusion he said :—

“I can only add that I shall ever witness the prosperity of this society with a feeling tantamount, I will say, to that which I feel for the prosperity of the one that meets to-morrow, because, with my honorable friend, the member for Staffordshire, who is in the chair, I know and feel, that if there be any evangelical spirit, if there be any real religion, (not only reviving, but revived,) in the Church of England, and spreading itself through every part of it, it is owing to the example set by Wesley, and the followers of Wesley. It was from that quarter that the impetus came : I hope it will ever be continued, and that each will act upon the other with reciprocal energy and effect, while we go on increasing the dominion of our God in every part of the world.”

EDWARD BAINES, Esq., M. P. for Leeds, said :—

“I feel highly honored by having been intrusted with a resolution to move in this meeting ; the object of which is to diffuse the knowledge of the truth within no boundaries but the boundaries of the world. I cannot, like your very excellent and honorable chairman, say, that I am a member of the established Church. I am not a member of the established Church : I am a member of another Church, but of a Church, I hope, that will always feel the affection toward religion, and toward the friends of religion, that all Churches ought to feel toward each other. I am, and have always been, since I have had the influence of religion upon my mind, fully convinced, as the honorable member who spoke last has said, that if there be any sect or any party in this country to whom the country is deeply indebted for the revival of religion, certainly, (I will not say to that sect alone, but I will say to that sect pre-eminently,) the cause, the great cause of religion in our native country, and in all the countries, almost, in the civilized world, is deeply indebted to Methodists and to Methodism. There is no body of men to whom, with more cordiality, I would hold out the right hand of fellowship ; they have entitled themselves to it by every consideration, and especially by kindness toward their brethren of all denominations : I will say, by increasing kindness ; for it is one of the characteristics of this age, that we do not distract ourselves by minor religious disputes ; but, instead of that, we labor, each in his vocation, to extend the knowledge of the truth as widely as the waters cover the mighty deep. That I take to be a distinguishing characteristic of the present age ; and, I hope, instead of diminishing, that characteristic will go on increasing till we all attain to the temper of heaven, where there is no feeling but the feeling of affection for the Divine Redeemer and for his kingdom.”

He then offered the following resolution, viz :—

“That this meeting devoutly acknowledges the goodness and condescension of almighty God, in vouchsafing his sanction and blessing to the several missionary societies, in their endeavors to extend the kingdom of Christ in the world ; and that, while it offers more especially its thanksgivings to God for the success which has crowned the plans and operations of this society during the past year, the meeting dwells with peculiar feelings of grateful delight on the beneficial results of the labors of the missionaries in Jamaica, and on the extraordinary work of grace which has been effected in the Friendly Islands, and the adjacent groups.”

After taking a survey of the beneficial effects of the missions under the care of the society in different parts of the world, and especially in the West Indies, and a most respectful notice of several other kindred institutions which had co-operated in the great plans in operation for the purpose of rescuing the world from

the thralldom of darkness and error, he proceeded to show the beneficial effects of these labors of love upon the poor, especially when contrasted with all their opposers had ever done, or proposed to do, in this Godlike work.

"It has been charged upon those who are the advocates for a more strict observance of the Sabbath, that they are hypocrites, and that they are the enemies of the poor. Sir, I disdain to reply to the charge of hypocrisy: it is not for a man, feeling the consciousness of his own integrity, to defend himself against such an imputation. But, sir, talk of being friends to the poor: look at that report. Are not the men who have sent forth missionaries, who have accumulated funds for benevolent exertions, who have spread the knowledge of truth, of Christianity, and of civilization, over the world—are not they the friends of the poor? and yet they are the petitioners for the observance of the Sabbath. I should be glad if any of those gentlemen—those 'honorable gentlemen,' I believe I ought to call them—I should be glad if any of those gentlemen, honorable or otherwise, would exhibit before me, or exhibit before you, sir, a list such as that which we have had read to us this morning. Has their support of the cause of the poor brought poor benighted heathens from darkness into light? Have they to boast such a phalanx, and such a multitude of persons—formerly cannibals, men-eaters, debasers of themselves by every possible means, and under the influence of every base passion—elevated to the standard of Christian men? Can they exhibit the array you have had exhibited before you this morning? No. They may be, and I do not doubt that many of them are, philanthropic; many of them are well disposed; but it is a philanthropy narrow, almost to a point; while yours is a patriotism wide as the globe, and that will terminate only in heaven. I would not weary your attention, but this really is a subject upon which—perhaps from having been among the hypocrites—I felt a sort of ebullition that almost boiled over; and I did not see a better opportunity of letting it empty itself than in this great assembly. I have only farther to say, because it really is an observation I do not wish to pass over—that civilization is by no means to be accomplished in half so permanent and excellent a way as by evangelizing the heathen. I believe every other civilization, if you do not teach the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, will degenerate again into heathenism. But it is your great province to give instruction that will tend to the happiness of the heathen and of the semi-barbarians in this world; and which, under the Divine teaching of the great Master whom we ought to honor, and whose precepts we ought principally to be anxious to obey, while it increases their comforts in this world, also points their way to another and a better state of being. But it is not merely for the present generation that the missionary societies are laboring; they are laboring for generations yet unborn. Take an island or a continent where the Gospel is now preaching, and where the knowledge of Divine truth is disseminating, and follow it in its ramifications through ages yet to come; and see then what will be the benefit of the instruction you are imparting. It will be a benefit that no mind is sufficiently capacious to comprehend; it will be a benefit that no human power, I had almost said that nothing short of Divine power, can adequately appreciate. But it is a benefit that you are spreading widely through the globe; and I hope your exertions will never terminate till it has been spread to every continent and every island of the earth."

COLONEL CONOLLY, M. P. for the county of Donegal, seconded the resolution. He also announced himself a member of another communion, but expressed a friendly regard for all Christians, and the high respect in which he held the Wesleyan Methodists, in terms similar to those employed by previous speakers. His remarks

throughout breathe a spirit of deep and ardent piety. Of his confidence in the society he addressed, as particularly calculated to succeed in the missionary work, he expressed himself thus:—

“I confess that I know no body of persons in society more calculated to diffuse the pure principles of the Gospel than the Wesleyan body. Their primitive character, their pure doctrine, the unaffected simplicity of their habits, all afford them a facility in approaching the hearts of men. It is not contention, it is not the support of any miserably limited theory of religion, which they make their object; but it is the sending forth the word of God in all its purity which forms the height of their ambition; it is doing the great business of every man who presumes to call himself a Christian. No man can arrogate to himself that name who is not impressed with the duty of propagating the doctrines he professes; not only on account of the blessings they convey in relation to another state, but as they point out the only certain road to present happiness. In every way of viewing it, I may say, ‘The exertions of the missionaries of England surpass the glories, the triumphs, the victories of England.’ However greatly I may value the prowess of England, her sustentation of liberty, and every thing with which the British name is so intimately and honorably connected; yet I honor her over and above all these, ten thousand times, for her diffusion of Christian doctrine, that originates in benevolence, and terminates in charity. There is a great source of exultation in the task which you have so gloriously undertaken, and in which, under the auspices of the Almighty, you have prospered; which is this—that it is his work. This is not a theory of the creature; it is the direction, the mandate, of the Creator. We are but fulfilling his will, we are but extending his glory. We have every assurance in Scripture that God’s word shall not be sent forth in vain;—that has been fully proved to us in the blessings which have accompanied the exertions that have already been made, and in the success of those persons who have gone forth. For, undoubtedly, it requires singular devotion in a person to go out to Cape Coast Castle, for example, with death staring him in the face, to preach Christ to a heathen people, with no other motive than that of propagating Christianity, and no other strength than that derived from the Most High. When an individual faces such perils, we see to what a pitch of energy the Christian doctrine, thoroughly understood, may raise the human mind; how it will exalt a man above every risk; how it will cause him, while looking forward to those blessings which are the result of religion, to prepare to encounter every difficulty, even to the loss of his life!”

The Rev. THOMAS WAUGH, of Belfast, in supporting the resolution, made a long and soul-stirring speech. He introduced various topics, and made them all subservient to the grand object of moving the feelings of a popular assembly. It was one of those efforts of which no single abstract can give a just idea, while it is altogether too long to be inserted entire. Among other things he brought before the meeting the deeply affecting condition of his own country, poor bleeding Ireland, in a way to tell upon their feelings, and excite their sympathies. In adverting to this subject he said:—

“During the middle ages, we had little else in Ireland than scenes of darkness and blood. For generations all was turmoil and confusion. But even then the Church of Ireland was unshackled, and remained so until your second Henry made a bargain for us, and, like chattels, handed us over to the pope of Rome. On that ground, my friends, I now come forward to claim your interference. You shackled us;—set us free! You contributed

to enslave us ;—contribute to that which is likely to enlighten our land, in the full length and breadth of it ; let us have your assistance, in order that the torch of God may illumine our country, and that it may become what God and nature designed it should be. Subsequently, sir, there was very considerable apathy throughout Ireland. During the days of William, there was a strong political effervescence ; and the spirit of true religion, to an awful extent, evaporated. This, I trust, has been a lesson to us. When our venerable father, Mr. Wesley, first visited our land, he found all in a state of apathy. There was darkness pervading it from the one extremity to the other. There were few who appeared to care for the souls of their neighbors. There were, indeed, numbers who heard him, received the Gospel, and became obedient to the faith. But even then, sir, the leopard was not asleep ; it only slumbered. Its paws presented the appearance of velvet, and no weapon was apparent. But when Wesley was heard proclaiming the word of life, the animal soon began to open its eyes, and to show that it was only waiting to do that which was instinctive to its nature ; and persecution assailed our venerable father in his progress in Ireland. I know it is the practice to charge all the evil of that day on an irreligious clergy. But why should the class of persons who use this language find fault with them ? So long as the clergy of the established Church of Ireland were comparatively quiet, and were good fellows with those who were the friends and advocates of a gross and degrading superstition, there was not a tongue moved against them ; but when quickened by the growing zeal of the day,—when a larger portion of the Spirit of God was transfused into that body, which, thank God, there has been,—then there was a hue and cry raised by their enemies, and it was said, ‘O, these people cannot attend to their own concerns, but they must disturb the public peace.’ It reminds me of a countryman of my own, though I think, from his conduct in respect to a female, he could not have been a true Irishman ; who, having taken more whiskey than he ought, when staggering homeward, was overheard to say, ‘If my wife be in bed, I’ll *bate* her ; and if she be out of bed, I’ll *bate* her ; if the supper’s ready, I’ll *bate* her ; and if it’s not ready, I’ll *bate* her.’ So that he was determined to *bate* her under any circumstances. Thus nothing will please these modern purifiers of men and manners. When the clergy were quiet, ruin was brought upon the country through their apathy ; and now, when they bestir themselves, they deserve just as much to be flogged as before ! But, sir, a holy zeal increases in the clerical bosom of Ireland at this day,—a temperate and well qualified zeal, a Christian zeal ; and there are many men of that Church at this moment who would be an honor to the apostolic age. They are found ‘instant in season, and out of season,’ and God blesses their labors. And shall we look with jealousy upon such as those ? No, far be it from us ; we wish them prosperity in the name of the Lord. They have been actively engaged in endeavoring to do good ; schools have been introduced ; and many things have been done by them to ameliorate the sufferings of the people of that country ; but then plans have been laid to interrupt their proceedings, and to upset all that was done for the establishment of truth.”

The chairman being called by his duties in parliament to leave the chair, it was taken by the Right Honorable Lord MOUNT-SANDFORD.

ANDREW JOHNSON, Esq., M. P. for St. Andrews, moved the following resolution, viz. :—

“That while this meeting rejoices in the growing spirit of liberality in support of the missionary cause, as evidenced in the increased income of the society for the last year, it at the same time expresses its solemn conviction, that a much larger augmentation of funds is necessary, to enable the society to re-establish and extend its interesting missions in Caffraria, to

meet the expenses which will be incurred in promoting the important work of negro education in the West Indies, to execute the plans which have been formed for extending the society's sphere of operations in India, and, in short, to maintain in a state of vigor and efficiency all the existing missions of the society, and to embrace those opportunities for usefulness which are presenting themselves in various parts of the world."

After expressing his satisfaction in the excellent Christian principles advocated by the reverend gentleman who preceded him, and ably supporting at some length the several points embraced in the resolution, he adverted with much interest to the influence which the labors of the missionaries had exerted in support of the great principle they had heard advocated, viz., that Christianity is the best mode of civilization.

"Have we not heard that in the rebellion which took place in Jamaica, before the general emancipation, the negroes of this connection, to a man, were not engaged in that rebellion? Have we not heard that, when the Caffrians made an irruption into South Africa, many of the tribes were prevented from joining in the invasion of their neighbors by the labors of the missionaries? and have we not had a most interesting detail of the fact, that when two hostile tribes were drawn up in array against each other, by the timely approach of the missionaries, and the blessing of God on their interference, these two large and influential tribes of human beings were prevented from imbruing their hands in each other's blood? These are great and mighty triumphs of the missionary cause. And does it not become us all to assist in the spreading and the working of this great and glorious cause? When we look abroad, we find that our missionaries, who have been exposed to perils and indescribable dangers, (I allude to those, particularly, in Caffraria, and in the West Indies,) have not been left without protection; but that, while their chapels and houses were burned, and their persons exposed to brutal violence, underneath and around them were the everlasting arms of the Most High, so that they have not been suffered to perish. Nor would I omit to notice the melancholy fact, that so many of your excellent and valuable missionaries have fallen as martyrs in the great and good cause; but they have gone to their reward, and I trust that many more will stand up to take up what they have left undone, following the bright example which they have left, and looking forward to partake of that reward which they now enjoy."

The farther proceedings of this interesting meeting, being carried into a subsequent number of the Magazine, which we have not at hand, we cannot insert. But if we had it, we ought not, perhaps, to occupy a larger portion of this paper with it. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society employ more than three hundred missionaries at foreign stations; and they are providing greatly to extend their labors among the most destitute and degraded portions of our race.

2. THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

"The thirty-sixth anniversary of this society was held on Tuesday, May 3d, at Exeter-Hall: the earl of Chichester, the president of the society, in the chair. The speakers were, the bishop of Winchester; the Rev. Dr. Duff, of the Church of Scotland's mission, at Calcutta; the bishop of Chester; the marquis of Cholmondeley; the Rev. John W. Cunningham; the Rev. Professor Scholefield, of Cambridge; the dean of Salisbury; the Rev. Hugh Stowell; Captain Gardiner; and the Rev. Peter Roe, of Kilkenny.

"The aggregate receipts of the year were stated to be £68,354 10s. 6d.

The Rev. Dr. DUFF, in advocating the cause of the society, made a long and exceedingly labored speech. "In searching for the most marvellous proofs of the fall of man, we must not go," he said, "to the outskirts of the globe, to New-Zealand, or to Labrador; but visit the vast regions of the east, the cradle of the human race, of religion, of science, of patriarchal faith." He drew a dark and dreadful picture of the moral and religious condition of the people whom he called the subjects of Christian Protestant Britain, trained up in all the abominable and bloody rites of an idolatry which recognizes more than thirty-three millions of deities,—

"All monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceived
Gorgons and hydras, and chimeras dire."

To convey the lamp of life to this dreary region, and illuminate all parts of this mass of darkness and idolatry, he alleged that fifty or sixty thousand missionaries would be necessary, forgetting, probably, that the fruit of a small portion of that number in raising up native teachers would do much toward supplying the work.

Of the state of the country, as favorable to missionary operations, and the description of missionaries which ought to be sent into it to ensure success, he spoke as follows:—

"Formerly the government of India, from what motives it was not for him to say, established colleges, which were the depositories of the antiquated stores of knowledge, wrapped up in Sanscrit, and astronomy, and Arabic, and false systems of geography, and history, and theology. They salaried their professors of idolatry and superstition; they granted stipendiary allowances to students of idolatry and superstition. But that policy was now at an end; a better day had dawned. The decree had gone forth, that henceforward the pure fountain of English literature and science should be opened, at the expense and under the patronage of government, to the national mind of India. As light cannot coexist with darkness, so surely must the false systems of Hindooism vanish before the torch of modern science. Already had the floodgates of knowledge been thrown open, and who would now dare to shut them up? Already had the means of information begun to pour in upon the thirsty land, and who would now venture to arrest their progress? As well might they exclaim with the poet:—

' Shall burning Etna, if a sage requires,
Forget her thunders, and recall her fires ?'

But here was the appalling consideration. All trained up under this system, when tossed by the power of superior knowledge out of the errors of Hindooism, and having no better system of religion substituted instead, would inevitably become infidels—quick, versatile, learned infidels. And these would pounce on our simple-hearted, sincere, but ignorant and illiterate Christians, like so many harpies on their prey. What then is to be done? What else can be done, but by combining in holy alliance our own literature and science with our true religion, endeavor, through God's blessing, to raise up a race of men who would be able to enter the territory of the enemy, grapple with him on his own ground, hurl back upon him his own weapons, and, driving him out of his own fastnesses, rear the citadels of grace over the ruins. In this way, instead of keeping down the preaching of the Gospel, we might secure, through the blessing of God's Spirit, a superior race

of preachers, who might diffuse a knowledge of it throughout the land with a power which would prove mighty in pulling down the strong holds of Satan."

After showing at length the political vicissitudes through which the country had passed for a thousand successive years, during which time idolatry, with its concomitant darkness and degradation reigned triumphantly, he exclaimed,—

"Ah! how different the scene now. About two hundred years ago, a band of needy adventurers issue forth from this our native land, from this, one of the remotest islets of the ocean; and they sit down in peaceful settlements on India's fertile shores. By a strange and mysterious dispensation of Providence these merchant subjects were destined to become sovereign princes. In opposition to their own expressed wishes, in direct contravention of the imperative mandates of the British parliament, district was added to district, and province to province, and kingdom to kingdom, till at length all India lay prostrate at the feet of Britain. And now, for the first time during the last thirty centuries, universal peace does reign in India; and if there were a thousand temples of Janus there, the thousand temples might now be shut. O, then, who could resist the inference which analogy supplied? Were the Roman legions commissioned by an overruling Providence to break down the barriers of intercommunion between the kingdoms of the world, to prepare the way for the ambassadors of the cross to announce the advent of the Prince of peace? And had not the British legions been commissioned in our day by the same overruling Providence to break down the barriers of intercommunion between the tribes, and states, and principalities of Hindostan? Had they not levelled mountains and filled up valleys to prepare a highway for the heralds of salvation to proclaim the message that ought ever to fall upon the sinner's ear more enchanting far than the softest, sweetest strains of earthly melody? Would they then shut their eyes, and steel their hearts against an opportunity so favorable for extending the boundaries of the Redeemer's kingdom? Say not that ye have not the means. The wealthy have the means in abundance, and to spare, if they had only the Christian heart to communicate. The poorest have something; even the widow has her mite; and if she has not, she has her closet; and thence, in communion with all the saints on earth, may thousands of prayers be made to ascend into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth, more grateful and more acceptable far than the incense of a thousand sacrifices. Would they, then, neglect the golden opportunity of extending the principles of the cross in India?"

The Rev. J. W. CUNNINGHAM, in speaking of the grounds of encouragement to hope for a successful introduction of pure Christianity in China, said:—

"Mohammedanism had scaled the walls of China; Judaism had penetrated into China; the Roman Catholic religion had gained access to the empire, and had reached the very throne and court. Mr. Abeel had declared, what had been confirmed by Mr. Gutzlaff, that Buddhism was not indigenous to China, that it was not as the tea tree of that country; but that it was an apostacy from the ancient faith. That circumstance was not a little encouraging; for if Mohammedanism, with no evidence, not even that of a straw, could convert China, surely Christianity, with its long train of prophets and apostles, with its holy and cheering truths—truths written in blood—with an influence sufficient to bear down every barrier—surely Christianity, with the book of God in her hand, would not fail, under the Divine blessing, to penetrate with effect the deepest recesses of China. But look at the difficulties connected with a mission to China: the first was its language. He supposed that there was not a person in that large audience who had not been

puzzled while learning the letters in the English alphabet. He had asked three persons who were seated near him how many letters there were in the English alphabet : one had replied, twenty-four, another twenty-six, and a third twenty-five. Now, if persons were puzzled in learning those twenty-six letters, what was to be said of the Chinese alphabet, which contained not fewer than fourteen thousand characters ? If wonders were not achieved in China so rapidly as some might expect, they must remember that the missionaries had first to learn the alphabet. But were they also aware that that difficulty was already, in a considerable degree, overcome ? It could not be forgotten that Morrison, whom they must ever remember with lively gratitude—that Morrison had written a Chinese grammar, a Chinese dictionary, and that he had, almost alone, translated the Scriptures into the three dialects spoken all along the line from Canton to Corea."

To this he added that the Chinese language was becoming more known, and mentioned a Mr. Kidd and lady, who, having learned that and the Malay languages, while residing in that country, were now employed in teaching them to a missionary and his wife.

He noticed, as an obstacle to the ready reception of the Gospel by the Chinese, that they are a peculiarly self-conceited people.

"Men must come as children to the feet of Christ, or they could not receive his salvation. Now, how was that self-conceit to be overcome ? Force would not destroy it ; acts of parliament would not destroy it ; schools of mere human learning would not destroy it. But the Gospel would achieve the mighty work. That Gospel which taught men that they were poor, vile, unworthy, sinful creatures, and which brought them humbled to the foot of the cross, to seek mercy and salvation there through Jesus Christ alone—that would effectually destroy all self-conceit. And that Gospel they hoped soon to give to the millions of China. He would name another encouragement. He believed they would all concur in the feeling that there was no greater proof as to what was the will of God in reference to any people, than where attention was directed peculiarly to them, and when their condition awakened, simultaneously, sympathy in the bosom of the whole Church. That was the case at present in reference to China. There was a general movement in reference to that country. All along the line of Christians, the impulse seemed to be felt. Who was Dr. Morrison ? They might perhaps imagine that he was a sort of Hannibal, devoted from his infancy to fight against China until China fell. But it was not so : if he understood rightly, Dr. Morrison was of comparatively humble circumstances. While yet a stripling his heart was set by a Divine impulse upon China. To China he went out, an unbearded youth, alone. He made a grammar of a language which had never been reduced to grammar before. He completed a dictionary of the same language. He secured a translation of the whole Scriptures into the three dialects of China. Then there was another person whom he must mention. He (Mr. Cunningham) had a brother in the country, who was always looking out for opportunities of doing good. He happened to hear that in his country there was a young man, the son of a farmer, who had some skill in learning languages. He sent for him, and asked him how many languages he knew ? Mr. Borrow replied that he could read, speak, and write twenty-seven languages. But his brother knew well that human learning alone would not make a good missionary, and that certain physical powers also were necessary. After having satisfied himself as to Mr. Borrow's personal piety, he questioned him on those points, therefore ; and received satisfactory answers. He asked him as to his health, and if he could walk pretty well ? His reply was, 'that he had walked from London to Norwich but two days before.' Mr. Borrow had since been sent out by the Bible Society to St. Petersburg. He had a perfect acquaintance with the three dialects of China, and had completed the correction of the

Scriptures in the court language of that country. The Bible, therefore, was gone to China, and no reason was to be assigned why the Gospel should not be made known to its teeming millions."

3. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

"The thirty-second annual meeting of the society was held at Exeter-Hall, on Wednesday, May 4th: Lord Bexley, the president of the society, in the chair. The speakers were the bishop of Winchester; Lord Glenelg; the bishop of Chester; the Rev. Mr. Breckenridge, of Baltimore; Dr. J. Pye Smith; the Rev. William Jackson, of New-York; the Rev. William Shaw; the Rev. Mr. Keuntze, of Berlin; Josiah Foster, Esq.; the Rev. William Ackworth; the marquis of Cholmondeley; and the Rev. Dr. Longley, bishop elect.

"The report stated that in the colonies the circulation of the Scriptures during the past year had been 43,523, being 16,921 more than in the previous year. In France great numbers of the Scriptures had been circulated. In Paris, in particular, great efforts were made by the French Bible Society, and schools were there established in aid of the object. Belgium had also afforded a new opening for the extension of their labors; as had both Spain and Portugal. In the latter country there was now no legal impediment to the introduction and circulation of the Bible. The accounts from the laborers in Italy, Malta, Bucharest, Wallachia, Smyrna, Constantinople, Calcutta, Madras, and other parts of India, were of a most encouraging and cheering character. From China the accounts were of a mixed character, but on the whole encouraging. Although the little Christian band there laboring had been disturbed, still they wrote for greater numbers of copies of the Holy Scriptures, saying that if they had fifty thousand or even one hundred thousand, they could dispose of them. From New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, New-Zealand, the Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, Grahamstown, Sierra-Leone, Tunis, Barbary, Tripoli, and from the different islands of the West Indies, the accounts were of a most gratifying character, and proved that the Lord had poured a blessing on their labors. In one part of Jamaica the Maroons alone had ordered two hundred Bibles at £1 1s. each. Turning to their domestic operations, they had to lament the death of a most pious, zealous, and cordial supporter of the society, the late Right Rev. Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, upon whose memory the committee felt bound to pronounce a high but just eulogium. Among the persons added to their vice-presidents, were the lord bishop of Madras, Dr. Longley, (bishop elect,) the earl of Burlington, and Sir W. W. Wynne, bart. The report, after enumerating a variety of legacies and donations received during the past year, contained the following statement of the receipts and disbursements during that period. The amount received by the society from all sources during the year has been £86,819 8s. 7d.: of this sum, £45,856 10s. 4d. have been obtained for the sale of the Scriptures; which sum, compared with the sales of the preceding year, shows an increase to the extent of £3,591 16s. 3d. The free contributions to the society, together with legacies, donations, &c., applicable to the general objects of the society, have amounted to £38,903 7s. 9d., being a sum less than that of the preceding year by £10,922 10s. 7d.; but if the legacy of the late H. Cock, Esq., which fell in last year, be deducted, (alone amounting to £11,695 12s. 9d.,) it will be found that there has been an increase of £773 2s. 2d. in this department. The negro fund has been augmented by farther contributions, amounting to £967 7s. 6d.; making a total for that special object, of £15,975 6s. 1d. The total expenditure of the society has amounted to £107,483 19s. 7d., being £23,445 19s. 5d. more than that of the preceding year; and its present engagements exceed £34,000. The following was the issue of Bibles, &c., during the last year:—558,842 copies, including Bibles and Testaments, and integral portions of the Scriptures; making a total from the commencement of the society of 9,751,792.

"In moving the adoption of the report, the bishop of Winchester said

he wished to remind himself and the meeting of the tone of Christian humility and piety which had marked the opening address of their president, and which had been so well responded to in the report. It was cheering to find that the same spirit which actuated the committee in former years, and which induced them to give praise to him to whom all praise was due, God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—that the same spirit of humility, and gratitude, and dependence, still marked their conduct, and that it was responded to with delight by all who heard it expressed. So long as that spirit marked their operations at home and abroad, and influenced the language of its advocates and the exertions of its agents, might the blessing of God be expected to rest upon the society. There was enough in the report which they had heard, to induce them to ‘thank God and to take courage.’ No fewer than half a million copies of the Holy Scriptures had been distributed during the past year; and the proceeds of the year, deducting a legacy which in the preceding year had been received from a friend of the society, had considerably exceeded those of the former year. Another pleasing fact was, that the expenditure had been increasing also; £23,000 more had been expended during the past year than had been expended the year preceding. Now, when they considered that in proportion to the expenditure of a society was its activity and its probable usefulness, it must be regarded as an object for congratulation.”

The speaker then proceeded to notice the many new encouragements to which, he confessed, he had always been in the habit of looking. The new openings of the last year had exceeded those of any former year. In China, it was declared that one hundred thousand copies of the Scriptures were immediately wanted. Another fact with respect to that country, which a few years ago would have excited astonishment, if not ridicule, was, that the Mandarins themselves, were assisting in the distribution of the Scriptures. He noticed also that most interesting field, the East Indies. The bishop, he said, of its chief diocese had declared that India waited for their labors.

Similar openings and encouragements were presenting themselves in Spain, Portugal, the West Indies, &c., in most of which countries there was manifested an increasing thirst for Scripture knowledge. One individual was mentioned, who made a journey of ninety miles in order to obtain a single Bible—a zeal, said the venerable bishop, which some in Christian lands would do well to imitate—a zeal which should lead them to send without delay to that individual his solitary Bible—a zeal which should stir them up to greater activity, which should teach them the value of those Scriptures to themselves which had proved so precious to that individual.

But was there no reverse to the medal? he inquired. The secretaries had said little of the six hundred millions of human beings who were yet without the Scriptures, and their concomitant blessings—the report had told them nothing of the twenty millions who were yearly passing into eternity, without a knowledge of the truth of the Bible. These were considerations which should induce to increased efforts.

The Rev. WILLIAM JACKSON, of New-York, said:—

“Many years have elapsed since I quitted the shores of England to settle in America. After an absence of twenty years, it was natural that on my return to my native land I should be struck with the difference between the state of things which I left and that which I perceived on coming back. I shall confine my notice to those which occurred with respect to this society. At that time the whole amount of your subscriptions from the commencement had not exceeded £400,000. They now have gone beyond £2,000,000. Up to that period the total number of copies of the Bible and Testament circulated by your society did not exceed two millions and a half; and unquestionably the distribution of that number at that period was a mighty effort. But it has been exceeded by what you have since done, as the amount of copies distributed up to this time has reached the incredible number of ten millions. Up to that time the Bible had been translated into forty different languages; it may now be read in one hundred and sixty. How or to what shall I compare this wondrous increase? I can compare it then only to the great angel mentioned in the Revelation with one foot upon the sea and the other on the land; with pity in its eye, charity in its heart, and conviction on its lips, extending its arms as though it would encircle the whole human race, and offering life, and light, and happiness to all the nations of the earth. This may convey some idea of the mother; now let me inquire how your American daughter has prospered—she whom you some twenty years ago very properly portioned off with a sum of £500. How did she apply that sum? Did she squander it? No. Did she bury it in a napkin? No. Did she put it out to usury? No. She traded with it; and with what result? About this time that I speak, her committee is reporting that her annual income exceeds one hundred thousand dollars; that she has already distributed two millions of copies of the Holy Scriptures. There has been no station in society, from the mansion of the rich down to the most humble cottage, that she has not visited. She has extended her labors to the most distant lands to which her commerce reaches; she meets the emigrants from your country on their arrival on her shores, and presents them with a Bible as the only true travellers’ guide: she places an ornament of gold around the necks of children by giving to them an early knowledge of the truth. Her labors extend from Labrador to the Main; and in that vast extent she is seen spreading her branches, bringing the faint and the weary of all classes under her shadow, and ministering to their wants with her fruit. Here, then, was one great effect of the bright example that had been set by the mother institution.”

JOSIAH FOSTER, Esq. took a rapid view of the operations of the society, with others in the same interest, in France, Sweden, Norway, Greece, Belgium, Frankfort, Lithuania, &c. He noticed the interesting fact, that the Bulgarian, Amharic, and other versions of the Scriptures, which have been prepared for the semi-barbarous countries of the north-east were in rapid circulation. After calling up in review a few other facts which other speakers had noticed, he concluded by saying:—

“The committee asked with confidence for an increase of the regular, permanent income of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Early, faithful, and long-tried friends were removed one after another; and it was necessary that new friends should come forward, depending on the Divine blessing for the success of their labors.”

The Rev. WILLIAM ACKWORTH, one of the agents of the society, detailed a number of facts which had come under his own observation while on the continent.

The following is the account as given in the Wesleyan Magazine :—

“ He was asked, he stated, when in Paris, if he wished to see the house in which Voltaire had resided ; he said, Yes ; and was about to take his hat, thinking he had to go into the country, but he was told that he had only to step over the threshold of the next room, which he did ; and then his informant said, ‘ This is the room in which Voltaire had his plays acted for the amusement of himself and his friends.’ What was his surprise on observing that the room had been turned into a repository for Bibles and religious tracts ! O, he wished that the professor of infidelity had been there to witness the holy use to which that room of infidelity and irreligion had been turned. At Lausanne he had been shown the house in which Gibbon had written his ‘ Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,’ and that too he found occupied by a zealous advocate and supporter of the Bible society. On arriving at Rome he proceeded to look for a book which he was anxious to have with him—the Bible ; but he could not find one. A gentleman whom he met there asked him how it was that the English who travelled abroad could afford to spend so much money ; observing that those who came there generally spent as much in a week as any inhabitant could afford to do in a year. He replied that he supposed it was owing to the liberties which Englishmen enjoyed in their own country ; to their industry ; but, above all, to their religious habits and strict observance of the doctrines of the Bible. He then complained of the difficulty of procuring one ; when his acquaintance informed him that he could easily show him where one might be purchased, and they sallied forth for that purpose. On coming to a shop, Mantinus’ Italian edition of the Bible in thirteen volumes was produced, with the Latin Vulgate on the opposite page ; the price he found was seventy-two francs. He observed that this was dear, and that few of the inhabitants could afford to purchase it ; adding, that in England he could procure a stranger a copy of the Bible for a tenth part of that sum, or under peculiar circumstances, under a twentieth part of it. ‘ O but, my friend,’ said my informant, ‘ the circulation of the Bible is prohibited here.’ He had derived much pleasure in hearing the address of the gentleman from Berlin ; for no one who had ever visited Rome, and known the Prussian ambassador there, could help feeling a respect for an inhabitant of that country. That ambassador had erected on the spot formerly dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a hospital, to which a certain society here had sent six hundred copies of the Scriptures, in order that all therein might have an opportunity of reading God’s holy word. He proceeded to Naples, and there he found a great scarcity of books, particularly of the Bible. His own book had been taken from him, and had only been restored on his representing that he would write home on the subject. And here he would mention an anecdote which perhaps might be useful to future travellers. A friend of his, who travelled a good deal abroad, always took several Bibles with him ; and visiting France on one occasion, he, to prevent annoyance, placed over them a book which was not any the worse for having been written in captivity—it was John Bunyan’s ‘ Pilgrim’s Progress.’ The custom’s officers, when they came to examine the books, knew not what to make of that title. ‘ Bun—Bun—Bunan !’ said one, ‘ what is that ?’ ‘ O,’ replied the other, ‘ you see it is some work recommending the pilgrimages.’ Now that, he ventured to say, was a better passport for the Bible than any other which could be obtained on the continent. From Naples he went to Vienna. A Jew had brought there one hundred copies of Martini’s Bible, of which he sold sixty. A friend of his (Mr. Ackworth’s) bought two copies ; but he soon received a visit from the police, who demanded that he should give them up. This he refused to do, observing that they were valuable books which he kept for the instruction of his children, and would not part with. The police then proceeded to thirty lawyers who had also been purchasers, and made a similar demand ; but they refused to give up their Bibles, alleging that it was

necessary they should know both sides of the question; and if the book was so bad as it was represented, they ought to acquaint themselves with the extent of its impropriety. There were, however, found some persons who, from want of firmness, gave up their Bibles; and those Bibles were burned. But what was the consequence? Why, a spirit of inquiry arose, out of which was made a request to that society to furnish a thousand copies of the sacred work. It was his determination to cease receiving a salary from the society; but did it thence follow that he was about to retire from it? O, no! He would say in the language of a late Right Rev. prelate, 'When I forget the Bible society, let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!'

4. THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

"The forty-first anniversary of this institution was held at Exeter-Hall, on Thursday, May 12th: Thomas Wilson, Esq., the treasurer, in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. Professor Vaughan; C. Lushington, Esq., M. P.; the Rev. J. Williams; the Rev. R. W. Hamilton; the Rev. W. Campbell, missionary from Bangalore; the Rev. G. Gogerly, missionary from Calcutta; the Rev. Henry Grey, of Edinburgh; the Rev. Henry Townley; the Rev. John A. James; the Rev. John Leifchild; and the Rev. Dr. Bunting.

The report contained a mass of the most interesting and encouraging information. The following is the number of missionary stations and out-stations, belonging to the society, in different parts of the world, missionaries laboring at the same, &c. &c.:—

	Stations and Out-Stations.	Missionaries.	Assists. Native, &c.
South Seas,	- 49 -	22	- 70
Beyond the Ganges,	- 5 -	7	- 6
East Indies,	- 163 -	33	- 123
Russia,	- 3 -	4	- 1
Mediterranean,	- 1 -	1	- —
South Africa,	- 28 -	23	- 12
African Islands,	- 2 -	3	- 3
West Indies,	- 21 -	18	- 8
	272	111	223

making, with upward of 450 schoolmasters and assistants, nearly 800 persons, more or less dependent on the society, exclusive of families. The directors have sent forth, during the past year, to various parts of the world, missionaries with their families amounting, exclusively of their children, to 28 individuals. The number of churches is 74, and that of communicants 5,239; of schools the number is 443, and that of scholars 29,601. With respect to funds, it stated that there had been, during the past year, a decrease in the legacies, an increase in the ordinary contributions. The amount of legacies was £1,132 6s. 5d.; the contributions, to ordinary and special objects, £51,732 16s. 6d., being an increase, over the past year, of £2,093 2s. 9d., and making, with the legacies, the total amount of receipts, £52,865 2s. 11d. To that might be added the sum of £3,000, granted by government, toward the erection of schoolhouses in the West Indies; making the sum received by the directors for the year, £55,865 2s. 11d. The expenditure had been £60,627 8s. 5d.; being an excess above the income of the year, of £7,762 5s. 6d., and an increase above the expenditure of the previous year, to the amount of £15,016 14s. 8d."

The Rev. Mr. WILLIAMS called the attention of the audience to what he had witnessed of the triumphs of the Gospel in the South Sea Islands. In describing one of the missionary meetings he had attended, he said:—

"It was one of those cloudless mornings, so frequent in the Pacific, just when the sun was gilding the sky with his glory, that the people were assembling in multitudes to supplicate the Divine blessing on the proceedings of the day. A day thus commenced could not be otherwise than interesting. At midday, a multitude not less numerous than that which he had the honor of addressing, assembled; and not having a house large enough to contain the audience, we adjourned to an adjoining grove of cocoanut trees. Picture to your imagination, sir, a multitude thus assembled, shielded from the piercing rays of a tropical sun by the entwining plumes of the cocoanut tree, whose tall, cylindrical trunks gave it the appearance of a sublime rustic cathedral, reared by the hand of an Almighty architect. The king, with his consort and family, surrounded by the chiefs and nobles, dressed in their splendid native costume, were seated near to our esteemed brother Nott, who was standing upon a tub—for we are not particular whether on a tub or in a pulpit, if we may but tell the simple, yet wonderful story of God's having loved the world. Mr. Nott had addressed the people near half an hour, when the king said in his native language *Atira e Noti*. 'Mr. Nott, that will do; leave off.' Mr. Nott proceeded a few minutes longer with his address; and when Pomara repeated the injunction, 'That will do; let me speak now!' Mr. Nott took the admonition, and the king rose, and in a most powerful address contrasted the advantages of their present condition with their former heathenish state; he told the people to whom they were indebted for those blessings, and stated to them how the people of England raised funds to spread the Gospel over heathen countries; and then concluded by saying, 'We have no money, but we have pigs, cocoanuts, and arrow root, with which we can buy money; and I propose that we should form a society which we may call 'The Tahitian Society for causing the word of God to grow.' All who agree to this proposition will hold up their hands.' In a moment a forest of naked arms was extended in the air—arms that had scarcely ever been uplifted before except to inflict the blow of death upon the head of some devoted enemy. The people returned to their homes to carry into execution the proposition of the chief; but he must state, that the chief impressed it earnestly, he might say six times, that it must be entirely voluntary. They immediately commenced making cocoanut oil, and in a short time a shipload was sent out to England, which was sold, after all expenses were paid, for the sum of £1,400; and this being the first cargo imported into this country from those islands, his majesty was graciously pleased to remit the duty upon it, which increased its value by £400. It was thus he desired to see kings becoming nursing fathers, and queens nursing mothers, to the Church. He would just remark that this chieftain, some years ago, was one of the most savage despots on the face of the earth; and, had it not been for a cloud that was very distressingly shed over his closing years, he would have been one of the most illustrious monuments of the power of the Gospel the world ever beheld. It might be interesting to his friends to know, that in his dying moments, he gave three specific charges:—1. To maintain the laws; 2. To be kind to the missionaries; 3. To lay fast hold on the Gospel."

The speaker then presented the chairman with a copy of the New Testament, printed in the language of a people inhabiting an island which he himself had discovered. He found them all heathens; he left them all professing Christians. He found them without a written language; he left them reading, in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God. And the latest intelligence informed him that in one of the schools there were 1,034 children, the morning the letter was written.

Mr. CAMPBELL made an interesting speech, mostly in reference

to the state of British India; in which he sharply rebuked the countenance given to idolatry, by British officers. "So long," said he, "as European magistrates are obliged to be present at the festivals, and spread the golden cloth over the image, as the representatives of the state, and European officers are obliged to present a salute to the abominable thing, and European functionaries are obliged to collect the wages of iniquity, the curse of the Almighty rests upon India, and an invincible barrier is raised against the progress of the Gospel, and the extension of truth; a burden of uncanceled guilt lies upon the government and people of Great Britain; and in the skirts of our garments is found the blood of souls." He pointed out the difficulties which prevented the availability of the measures which had been adopted to remedy these evils, and earnestly recommended others which he thought might subserve the best interests of the nation and the cause of religion. He concluded by saying,—

"I wish not to throw cold water on the subject of China, by any means; but if you wish to enter China, if you wish that the way may be opened for the introduction of the Gospel into that vast empire, what do I advise you to do? Fulfil your obligations to India, the country which God has put into your hands, and then he will give you China as a prize and reward. I am ready to hide my head with shame before this assembly, and in the presence of my Master, for my countrymen, for our seats of learning, and for the Church of the living God. Had you been called to defend the rights and liberties of your country, and had failed to display the courage and magnanimity which characterized your ancestors, I should deeply have deplored it. Had you been called upon to go to the extremities of the earth, to explore regions comparatively unknown, and to add to the triumphs of science and philosophy, and had been found wanting in the spirit of enterprise to accomplish the undertaking, this I should have deeply deplored. What, then, shall I say, when the call has been reiterated from the heavens above, and from the earth beneath—from the sanctuary, and from the press—from the Christian Church—from the lips of the missionaries—and from perishing millions; inviting you to the post of honor, of danger, and of sacrifice; to stand on the ramparts of depravity, and contend with principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickedness in high places; and to tread in the steps of prophets and apostles, of confessors and of martyrs? and that call is so little regarded?"

5. THE LORD'S DAY OBSERVANCE SOCIETY.

"The annual meeting of this society was held at Exeter-Hall, on Friday, April 29th: the bishop of London in the chair. The speakers were, Sir Oswald Mosley; the Rev. Dr. Dealtry; William Roberts, Esq.; the Bishop of Chester; the Rev. George Cubitt; the Rev. Christopher Benson, master of the temple; John Hardy, Esq., M. P.; the Rev. J. H. Stewart; and Sir Andrew Agnew.

"The report stated that the committee, not expecting to bring their undertaking to an easy or an early conclusion, were grateful for the success which they had met with. Perseverance was necessary; and in dependence on the blessing of God, they had been enabled to hold on thus far. The Sabbath was of infinite value to man; and the committee, by addresses, appeals, arguments in print, and oral communications, had pressed forward to their great ultimate object in the face of a powerful current of hostile influence, aided by the formidable force of the public press. Every step in

their progress proved that the end could not be accomplished without a strong simultaneous co-operation of the whole body of Christians. The committee had gone through a painful inquiry into the vast amount of profanation under which the Lord's day may be said to groan, and which would appear incredible to those who keep themselves within the bounds of order and decorum. The committee had determined to make Scripture the arbiter between the demands of the world and the privileges of the Sabbath, and to insist upon the whole Sabbath, and not an abridgment of it; it must be entire and unmutated. It was the duty of a Christian government to promote the glory of God and the best interests of the community, by providing for the due observance of the Sabbath. Adverting to the apathy of the legislature on this question, the report remarked, 'Our railroad adventurers are so busy with the earth, that they seem to have forgotten that there is a heaven.' Several bills which had passed the house of commons with a clause prohibiting the employment of the road on the Lord's day, had had that clause struck out in their passage through the lords. The Islington market bill experienced a similar fate, the evils of Sabbath-breaking, as far as regards trading, amusement, the transit of goods and passengers on public roads, canals, and rivers, were not abated; though, with respect to travelling by stage-coaches, a small decrease in the number employed had taken place. Out of 3,000 coaches licensed in 1832, no less than 1,633 were licensed to run on the Lord's day. The number licensed this year is 2,950; of which 1,521 travel on the Lord's day, performing thereon 8,294 journeys. This calculation did not include glass coaches, hackney carriages, and cabriolets. The pestilential evil of Sunday newspapers was spreading; and considering the malignant form it had assumed of late, it might be a question whether the enemy of souls wielded any more destructive weapon. This society, however, was gaining strength. The movements in the north of England, and especially in Derby, were very gratifying. Auxiliaries had been established in Yorkshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Buckinghamshire, Devonshire, Salop, Norfolk, Northumberland, and Sussex. No one year had been so productive of interesting correspondence as the last, during which the committee had circulated 15,000 copies of the tract containing portions of the evidence on Sabbath breaking, given before a committee of the house of commons; and 113,250 copies of the society's own publications. A Sabbath Observance Society had been recently formed in the Canton de Vaud, Switzerland; and the minister (the Rev. C. Recordon) was engaged in translating into French the bishop of Calcutta's sermons on the Lord's day. The committee expressed their acknowledgments to the Wesleyan and Calvinistic Methodists for their zealous co-operation in this cause. The receipts of the year, December, 1834, to December, 1835, amounted to £812; the payments to £740; but against the balance of £72, there were engagements to the amount of £363."

6. RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

"The thirty-seventh annual meeting of this society was held in Exeter-Hall on Friday, May 6th: Samuel Hoare, Esq., the treasurer, in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. T. S. Grimshawe; the Rev. Dr. Burder; the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel; the Rev. H. Townley; the Rev. H. Stowell; the Rev. William Jackson, of New-York; the Rev. J. Cumming; the Rev. Dr. Cox; the Rev. R. W. Sibthorpe; the Rev. F. Cunningham.

"The report commenced by adverting to the opposition which is still made by the Chinese authorities to the circulation of religious tracts. From all other parts, with the exception of Madagascar, the accounts were of an encouraging nature. In reference to domestic proceedings, it was stated that the new publications within the year were 193. The publications circulated during the year had amounted to 15,914,148. The total circulation of the society, in more than eighty languages, had been about 235 millions. Several new societies had been formed. The total receipts had been £63,034 13s. 8d.; being an increase of £6,708 6s. 10d.

"Mr. Noel said he was glad to hear that the committee had thought it right to allot £2,000 in the course of the last year to India and to China. This sum, however, was a small contribution, compared with the £54,000 expended upon the sale of small publications at home. England, with all her ministers, with her widely diffused education, with her revered Sabbaths, with her multiplied institutions for ameliorating in every way the moral and spiritual condition of the population, had £54,000 worth of tracts diffused among the people, while the vast regions of Hindostan and China had but £2,000. Yet it was cheering to notice that year by year these grants were enlarging. Not only did religious men now direct their attention to our intercourse with China, but since the trade had been opened, there were many accounts on which men generally wished to see that intercourse extended. Although the experiments which had been made were not many, yet it seemed impossible to deny a full assent to the proposition that China was perfectly accessible. Mr. Gutzlaff had made five voyages along the coast; and it had only led him to describe each voyage as more successful than the one before; and an American missionary had found the people at Canton ready to receive his books. With such opportunities offered to them for distribution, would it not be in the highest degree neglectful not to employ them? The people were ready to receive and to read copies of Christian books: not, however, that he meant to say that there was a disposition to receive Christianity. But they were a reading, a curious, and a friendly people; and were ready to receive whatever books were offered them. According to the last census, the population of China was said to be 350,000,000; more recently, however, the number had been reduced to 250,000,000; but still the population was so dense that they were obliged to emigrate to other lands in great numbers. In spite of the most rigid laws of the Chinese government, the necessity of the case was forcing thousands of the inhabitants into the Chinese Archipelago, in which there were European residents and European commerce. The Chinese mingled with the Europeans, they caught their language, knew something of their superiority; and was it conceivable that it would not operate in producing a most important change in the opinions of those ignorant people regarding the western nations? By that slow operation a preparation was made for communicating the Gospel. At this moment there were hundreds of thousands to whom Christian tracts had immediate access; and some of those books might be taken by the sailors into the heart of their own families. Let them follow, in imagination, one of those sailors thus taking a book into his family, and there reading one of those strange publications from a foreign nation, and the people of the village, simply from curiosity, listening to the communication. Did they not see what a preparation was made for the Christian missionary whenever, in the good providence of God, an opening should be made for him to establish himself among them? It was just before the advent of the Saviour that the civilized world was prepared for the diffusion of Christianity, by the extension of that empire which broke down the barrier between rival nations. So the vast population of the east, amounting altogether to not far short of half the population of the earth, was only under two governments. India was already open to Christian publications; and if, in the providence of God, the bigotry of China should be relaxed, then would the whole of that vast empire be prepared to receive the communication of the Gospel from Canton to Corea. But if there were those facilities for distribution, was there any agency prepared? In that point of view the prospect was most cheering. Morrison, Milne, Medhurst, and Gutzlaff, had, with energy, perseverance, and devotion, given themselves to that work, and had mastered the difficult language. Morrison and Milne were gone to their rest; but here was a proof of the value of a society like this. Their publications would live after them, and might communicate a knowledge of Christianity to millions, when their tongues were silent in the grave. Death might carry away Medhurst and Gutzlaff; but

their publications might be hailed with delight, by men of the greatest understanding and of the most devoted hearts. It was much to be deplored, that the liberality of this country, among all denominations of Christians, had not raised a sum of money that should be adequate to the demand. Every publication issued by this, as well as the Bible society, simply bore the stamp of the truths of the Gospel; and that gave them a vast advantage. The Catholic missionaries had been so opposed to each other, that more than once they received an intimation from the emperor that they should live in brotherly love. Still, however, the operations of that body had been so well sustained, that in 1810 they presented a report to Sir George Staunton, from which it appeared that there were six bishops, twenty-five missionaries, eighty priests, and 215,000 converts, within the heart of that empire. When the meeting recollected that at this moment the prevalent religion of China was Buddhism, and had been introduced without oral instruction, but was communicated by writing, they had a pledge of what the publications of the society might do when circulated among that thinking people. Only let Christians be more and more zealous in the work. That immense population was involved in ignorance, superstition, and despotism; and, therefore, let the superior privileges of those whom he addressed animate them to great and renewed exertion."

7. THE SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

"The thirty-third anniversary of this institution was held at Exeter-Hall on Thursday, May 5th: Edward Baines, Esq., M. P., in the chair. The speakers were, the earl of Roden; the Rev. A. Tidman; the Rev. John Leifchild; the Rev. C. Stovell; the Rev. Dr. Morison; the Rev. William Thomson; the Rev. J. P. Haswell; the Rev. William Beal; and W. B. Gurney, Esq.

"Mr. W. F. Lloyd read the report, which commenced by detailing the society's foreign operations. It stated that the most earnest desire for instruction was manifested in various parts of the world, particularly in the West Indies. With regard to home proceedings, sixteen grants had been made toward the erection of schools, amounting to £295. The labors of the travelling agent, since the last anniversary, had resulted in the formation of seven unions, and in the visitation of twenty societies. The home grants during the past year amounted to £72 0s. 8d.; the colonial grants, to £30 4s. 1d.; and the cash grants, to £55. A summary of the returns of the four London auxiliaries presented 551 schools, 7,866 teachers, 80,631 scholars; being an increase on the last year of 17 schools, 245 teachers, and 1,927 scholars. The benevolent fund account showed the income of the year to be £676 19s. 1d.; the expenditure £542 19s. 2d.; leaving a balance in hand of £133 19s. 10d."

8. THE LONDON SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE JEWS.

"The twenty-eighth anniversary of this society was held on Friday, May 6th: Sir Thomas Baring, the president of the society, in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. Edward Bickersteth; the Rev. T. S. Grimshawe; the Rev. Peter Roe; the Rev. Daniel Wilson; the Rev. Hugh Stowell; the Rev. M. Keuntze, of Berlin; the Rev. T. Woodroffe; the Rev. A. Thomas; the Rev. John Hall; and the Rev. Michael Solomon Alexander.

"The Rev. J. Davis read the report, from which it appeared that the contributions in the present year had amounted to £14,395 14s.; being an increase of £2,291 12s. 2d. over the subscriptions of the previous year. Of that sum, £1,731 had risen from the enlarged contributions of auxiliaries, an occurrence which, coupled with the circumstance of an increase of £1,200 in the last year beyond the preceding, showed that the very great interest which the public took in the institution was increased and extended from year to year. The committee had last year diminished its expenditure by

limiting its operations in certain parts ; but in this year it had resumed that expenditure without any derangement to its finances, or without any necessity of going into debt. The report then went on to detail the operations of the society in foreign countries, which were altogether of a most encouraging character. It was stated, on the authority of an eminent German professor, that there had been more converts from the Jews in the last twenty years, than there had been during all the previous time from the commencement of Christianity."

9. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY.

"The thirty-first anniversary of this society was held at Exeter-Hall, on Monday, May 9th: Lord Morpeth in the chair. The speakers were, Sir Cullen Eardly Smith; the Rev. Sanderson Robbins; J. I. Briscoe, Esq.; Sir Harry Verney, M. P.; the Rev. Richard W. Hamilton; the Rev. T. Smith; the Rev. Henry Wilkes; the Rev. J. Breckenridge, from America; Captain Young, R. N.; and the Rev. Dr. Schwabe.

"Mr. Dunn, the secretary, read the report, which stated, that, during the past year, the society had lost its valuable friend, Joseph Foster, Esq., of Bromley. The model schools continued to sustain the high character they had so long enjoyed. The number of children educated in the borough schools alone had now amounted to 33,710. In the training establishment, from April 1835 to 1836, the unusual number of 173 candidates had enjoyed the benefit of attendance. Of the 173 candidates, 92 had been trained for the boys' schools, 81 for the girls' schools. Of the former, 38 had been appointed to new schools, 28 had succeeded other teachers, 14 had left England for foreign stations, and 12 had, from various causes, withdrawn from the institution. Of those which had been trained in the girls' schools, 48 had been appointed to schools in England and Wales, 9 had been sent out under the superintendence of the society for promoting female education in India and the east, 9 had proceeded to foreign stations, under the care of different missionary societies, and 15 had either withdrawn, or, at the time referred to, were unprovided with stations. The number of new schools opened during the past year had fully equalled that of any preceding year. The schools throughout the country were, for the most part, proceeding satisfactorily. In reference to foreign operations, the report stated that education in the West Indies was steadily advancing. The accounts from Greece, Athens, and Spain, were highly encouraging. In conclusion, the committee made an earnest appeal for increased pecuniary assistance. From the treasurer's account it appeared, that the total income of the society during the past year amounted to £3144 1s. 4d.; the expenditure to £3,631 15s. 10d.; leaving a balance against the society of £487 14s. 6d."

10. THE NAVAL AND MILITARY BIBLE SOCIETY.

"The fifty-sixth anniversary of this society was held on Tuesday, May 10th: the marquis of Cholmondeley in the chair. The speakers were, J. P. Plumptre, Esq., M. P.; General Tolley; the Rev. Peter Rod; Captain Pakenham, R. N.; the Rev. William Clayton; Captain Elliott, R. N.; Captain V. Harcourt, R. N.; Captain J. W. Bazalgette, R. N.

"Colonel Le Blanc read the report. It commenced by stating, that the exertions made in both branches of the service to promote the objects of this society had been unabated in the last year; and described the increased value which attached to the moral conduct of the soldier and the sailor, when that conduct was regulated by religious feeling. The number of copies of the Scripture which had been circulated last year amounted to 7,878, of which 995 were distributed for the use of seamen on board his majesty's ships; and the report observed that the captains of his majesty's ships had on all occasions received the grant of Bibles for the use of their crews with the greatest thankfulness. It then adverted to the case of his majesty's cutter, the Quail, which, on its way to Lisbon, encountered a

most violent hurricane. So great was it, that by one sea that struck them in the bay of Biscay, twenty-four of the crew were swept off the deck ; of these, eight were fortunate enough to regain the vessel, but the others sank to rise no more until that day when the sea shall give up its dead. After enduring the severest trials, the Quail at length succeeded in reaching St. Hillier, in Jersey, but almost in a sinking state. When arrived there, the agent of the society went on board, with a view of supplying any loss they might have sustained, with respect to their Bibles, and wished to give them some in exchange for those which were damaged ; but the crew requested to be allowed to keep those that remained as memorials of those comrades who had been taken from them, and who, it appeared, had made good use of them, up to the last day of their lives. It was a most gratifying sight, to see that portion of the crew who had been spared proceed to the nearest church on the succeeding Sunday, to thank God for their deliverance. In the last year there had been distributed among forty-one regiments, 2,933 Bibles, exclusive of those which had been distributed for the use of hospitals and regimental schools. The total number of Bibles and Testaments distributed during the last year was 11,211 ; making the distribution since the formation of the society, 308,249 Bibles and Testaments. The report expressed the regret of the committee, that the funds in the last year had not been commensurate with the demands of the society, and, with all their exertions, they had not been enabled to make their income equal to their expenditure ; and that therefore they were in advance, £347. The receipts of the last year had amounted to £2,570 9s. 1d. ; and the payments to £2,561 8s. 7d."

11. THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION SOCIETY.

"The ninth annual meeting of this society was held at Exeter-Hall on Friday, May 13th: Mr. Finch in the chair. The speakers were, J. E. Gordon, Esq. ; the Rev. P. Roe ; the Rev. Mr. Seymour ; Dr. Holloway ; the dean of Ardagh ; the Rev. E. Tottenham ; the Rev. J. Cumming ; the Rev. John Harding ; and Nadir Baxter, Esq.

The report and speeches contain little that is new or interesting. Most of the facts detailed are generally circulated through the periodical press, as well in this country as in Europe. It is affirmed that in Ireland Popery is on the decrease, and Protestantism on the increase—that a spirit of inquiry and investigation is abroad among the Catholic population, so much so, that they take much pains, travelling in some instances thirty and forty miles, to hear the relative merits of Popery and Protestantism discussed. There is also an evident desire for the Scriptures. In one instance six families subscribed a shilling each to purchase a Bible, which is now itinerating from house to house among them.

On the other hand it was stated that there had been great increase within the last year in the numbers of Roman Catholic colleges, chapels and convents, and that many persons in England had been seduced from the Protestant faith to join the Roman Catholic Church. It was hoped, however, that the zeal which the clergy were expected to exert in favor of the objects of the society, when they should come to be enlisted in its favor, might augur better results. This will depend much upon the manner of their employing it.

"The society had last year issued above 400,000 sheet tracts ; and there was going on an issue of nearly 2,000 tracts weekly from the society's repo-

sitory. The receipts of the society during the past year were £2,876 9s. 6d. ; the expenditure, £2,633 6s. Beyond this, the report added that the society was in debt to the amount of £1,388."

12. THE NEWFOUNDLAND AND BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN SCHOOL SOCIETY.

"The annual meeting of this society was held at Exeter-Hall on Wednesday, May 11th: Lord Mountsdford in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. Dr. Dealtry; the Rev. E. Sidney; the Rev. H. Budd; the Rev. J. Hall; Captain the Hon. F. Maude, R. N.; Perceval White, Esq.; Thomas Lewin, Esq.; and the Rev. P. Roe.

"The Rev. J. Haslegrave, B. A., read the report, which announced that the king had taken the society under his special patronage, and that it continued to enjoy the countenance of the governor and other high official characters in Newfoundland. There were thirty-eight principal and branch schools in operation. The loan libraries in connection with them continued to be very useful. The teachers also employ themselves in distributing tracts; an important occupation, when it is considered that during the year 1834, there arrived at Newfoundland from sundry ports 848 ships, and that about 374 ships were employed in the seal fishery, which latter carried upward of 8,000 men; many of which were visited, and tracts left on board. There were many parts entirely destitute of instruction, which cannot be supplied for want of funds. The remittances last year from donations, subscriptions, and the various associations, excepting £120 received from Newfoundland for books, were only £1,251 18s. 5d. This year they amount to £1,769 19s. 9d., beside £100 specially for the debt of 1835; leaving a clear increase of £518 1s. 4d. But the receipts in Newfoundland for the past year amount only to £324 13s. 10d., reduced to sterling money; being £152 8s. 5d. less than the receipts of the preceding year."

13. THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY.—Having noticed this society in a former number, to which we refer the reader for information respecting it, we insert it here barely to preserve the order in this paper.

14. THE CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION SOCIETY.

"The eleventh annual meeting of this society was held at Finsbury chapel on Tuesday, May 3d: J. Labouchere, Esq., in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. A. Tidman; the Rev. R. W. Hamilton; the Rev. Dr. Cox; C. Lushington, Esq., M. P.; the Rev. J. Young; the Rev. T. Smith; and the Rev. George Clayton.

"The report stated that, in connection with the society, there were eighty-two associations, with 1,862 gratuitous visiters, having under their care 46,938 families, and holding 115 prayer meetings; being an increase of seven associations, 232 visiters, 5,759 families, and twenty-four prayer-meetings, during the last twelve months. Within the same period 766 copies of the Holy Scriptures had been circulated; 1,814 cases of temporal distress had been relieved; and 3,572 children had been obtained for Sabbath and day schools. The local prayer meetings, preaching stations, and schools, had been increased from 91 to 115. The income of the society amounted to £1,061 17s. 9d.; the expenditure to £1,045 19s. 4d."

15. THE PROTESTANT SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

"The twenty-fifth anniversary of this society was held at the City of London Tavern on Saturday, May 14th: Lord Ebrington in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. R. W. Hamilton; George Bennet, Esq.; J. Mellor, Esq.; Edward Baines, Esq., M. P.; the Rev. J. Sibree; the Rev. T. Morell;

Dr. Brown ; Josiah Conder, Esq. ; C. Lushington, Esq. ; the Rev. T. Russell ; Dr. Bennett ; Mr. Edwards, of Brighton ; the Rev. Dr. Ross ; J. Green, Esq., of Birmingham ; the Rev. Dr. Morison ; the Rev. Mr. Castledine ; Rowland Wilks, Esq. ; the Rev. Mr. Beard, from America ; the Rev. Mr. Ainslie ; the Rev. Dr. Cox ; and J. Brown, Esq., of Wareham."

The report contains nothing of general interest. The objects of the society are no doubt benevolent, and may be serviceable in many cases, if not abused. It appears to be a sort of association designed to interpose the weight of its influence in cases where it is conceived the rights of the weaker party are contravened by the more powerful and influential.

16. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

"The general meeting of this society was held at Exeter-Hall on Tuesday, May 17th : the bishop of Chester in the chair. The speakers were, Lord Teignmouth ; Basil Montague, Esq. ; the Rev. Hugh Stowell ; Mr. John Hockin ; Mr. G. Thomson ; Mr. Hall, of Maidstone ; J. S. Buckingham, Esq., M. P. ; the Rev. D. Kelly ; and the Rev. William Blood.

"The report stated that the temperance societies of England, Scotland, and Ireland had united ; and many country societies, which had hitherto been independent, had declared themselves auxiliaries of the parent institution. Other societies had been formed on the total-abstinence plan, whom they could not but regard as friendly coadjutors. Many excellent and influential clergymen of different denominations, as well as many private Christians of eminence, had inscribed their names in the books of the society, and had become successful advocates of its claims. Nearly all the parochial clergy of the city of London had espoused the cause ; and many dissenting meeting houses had been opened to its advocates. In St. Dunstan's and St. Bride's large associations had been formed. The Society of Friends had passed resolutions in favor of temperance at their last yearly meeting. Some cases were mentioned of spirit-dealers having abandoned the trade, from a conviction of its pernicious results. Many families had begun to act systematically on its principles. The agents of other religious and benevolent societies had lent their aid, and had distributed, with much success, the tracts of the society. The committee, having determined to obtain the opinion of the medical profession respecting the results of the use of ardent spirits, had succeeded in obtaining the signatures of 700 medical gentlemen, in London, including the most eminent practitioners in the hospitals. The following was the 'declaration' to which those gentlemen had affixed their names :—'We, the undersigned, declare our conviction, that distilled spirit is not only unnecessary, but injurious to persons in health ; that it contains no nutritive quality ; that its daily use is a strong temptation to drunkenness, occasioning many severe diseases, and rendering others difficult to cure, leading to poverty, misery, and death ; and that its entire disuse, except for purposes strictly medicinal, would powerfully contribute to the health, morality, and comfort of the community.' One hundred and eight new societies had been formed in the past year ; and 200,000 persons had evinced their attachment to temperance principles. Some juvenile associations had been formed under proper superintendence. One gentleman in Cornwall was stated to have distributed 60,000 tracts, and to have obtained 7,573 members ; he had employed 53 agents, and his labors had extended over 75 parishes. A lady in London also had succeeded in obtaining 155 members. The reports from Scotland and Ireland had been highly important and encouraging. The principles of temperance had been successfully advocated in New South Wales, Southern Africa, and New-Zealand, among the Moravian missionaries, in the East Indies, on the continent, France, Prussia, Sweden, and in the empire of the Czar. The number of tracts distributed

during the year had been 680,050; making, from the commencement of the society, 3,865,750, including the circulation of monthly publications to the extent of 403,120. The receipts had amounted to £1,631; the expenditure to £1,471; but the engagements under which the society was placed would leave a balance of nearly £400 due to the treasurer.

"Basil Montague, Esq., said he had long been connected with the Mendicity Society, in which they had seen the effects of that most horrible vice of drinking ardent spirits. He had meditated on the important subject for many years. He had himself abstained from fermented liquors for more than thirty years; and, from the knowledge which he had gained, he had endeavored to diffuse through the community the benefits which he had himself experienced. He had rarely seen the evil traced to its source. Few would accuse him of being, in the vulgar sense of the word, a 'radical reformer;' but, on the present subject, God forbid that he should not be an advocate for 'radical reform.' There were two points to which he would chiefly direct attention:—Was the drinking of ardent spirits an evil? And if an evil, how was it to be remedied? It was most decidedly an evil. First, it was injurious to health. Here Mr. Montague quoted the opinions of Dr. Cheyne, Dr. Rush, Dr. Darwin, and others, in proof; referring also to his own experience. In the next place, it was injurious to strength. He had inquired of several eminent boxers, and among the rest, of Mr. Jackson; as also of several celebrated walkers; and he found that they abstained from fermented liquors. He had obtained nearly the same testimony from soldiers and sailors. It was injurious also to intellectual excellence. Lord Bacon, Milton, Dr. Johnson, and others equally eminent, were remarkably temperate. It was, above all, injurious to moral excellence. It induced obduracy and hardness of heart, a distaste for labor, and a great waste of time; it was of an infatuating character, and there was a great difficulty in breaking it off; it led to a contempt of religion and of religious truth, to carelessness as to the distinctions between right and wrong, to irascibility of temper, to insensibility and inhumanity. Mr. Montague here introduced some quotations from the evidence given before the committee of the house of commons, by Mr. Poynder; from which it appeared that some of the most notorious murderers had fitted themselves for the perpetration of their horrid crimes by the use of ardent spirits. Such was the evil, an evil which in many had become an established habit. And how was it to be remedied? He answered, by abstinence. Let them abstain at once. Let them but persevere for a short time, and he could assure them that the pleasure would more than counterbalance any seeming evil."

In reviewing the transactions of these benevolent associations, all holding their annual celebrations in one city, and, within less than a month of each other, it is natural to institute a comparison between the state of the Christian world now, as indicated by the spirit which has prompted to these benevolent enterprises, and that which existed before. It is a trite remark, that the present is a benevolent age. But do we always realize what is implied in it—how much that must evidently be referred to the extraordinary impulses of the Divine Spirit—that has its origin in God alone, in whose hands are the hearts of all his people, to direct them to such leading tendencies as shall best subserve his wise and benevolent purposes? When the courage of a martyr was necessary, with the spirit of a martyr he armed his faithful ones. Now the spirit of a burning zeal for the salvation of the world will better subserve his

cause, and the spirit of such a zeal is imparted. It is evidently of God.

On examining the reports of these several societies, it will be perceived that they raised, during the last year, more than a million of dollars. Did all Christendom, from the days of Constantine to the Reformation, raise such an amount for purely benevolent purposes? These institutions, let it be recollected, with one exception only, have all sprung up within a half century. The Naval and Military Bible Society was instituted fifty-seven years ago; all the rest are of more recent origin. In England, where taxes and tithes, and the necessary means to support the gospel at home, among dissenters, place the people under an oppressive pecuniary burden, a spirit of benevolence has been gradually enkindling in the hearts of Christians, until the combined liberality of a few of the associations influenced by it exceeds a million of dollars in one year! The same spirit of zeal and benevolence prevails in other Protestant countries, as well as England, and in other societies in that country. Has God inspired it without an object? Does it not indicate that he is about to put in operation an agency for the conversion of the world? What then is the duty—let every friend of the Saviour seriously ask himself—what is the duty of all who profess to be influenced by a Saviour's love, in regard to this great and growing work? We then, as workers together with him, saith the missionary apostle, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST PROVED BY HIS WORKS.

A Sermon on John xx, 30, 31.—BY REV. J. FLOY.

"And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book; but these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name."

By the word "signs," in the text, we understand miracles, both words being indifferently used in the Old and New Testament. "Thou shalt take this rod in thine hand," said the Almighty to Moses, "wherewith thou shalt do *signs*:" and Jesus said, "Except ye see *signs* and wonders, ye will not believe."

But what is a miracle? The definitions of the word are numerous, some giving it too great a latitude of meaning; and others, perhaps, needlessly contracting it. A miracle is any action, event, or effect, contrary or superior to the established laws of nature. For admitting that there is a supreme Being—and our argument, at present, is not with those who deny one—a Being who has all

power in heaven and on earth, it is evident that no action can be performed—no event can take place—no effect be produced, contrary to laws he has established, only by an exertion of his own power, immediately or through the instrumentality of another. Will it be said, in opposition to our definition, that miracles were wrought in olden time by magicians, by soothsayers and the whole race of false prophets? we answer: either those performances were not miracles, but mere deceptive impositions; or, if they were, the power by which they were wrought must have come from God; or else we shall run into the absurdity of imagining some being more powerful than the Deity.

It falls not within our design, at present, to discuss those wonders or signs wrought by others, whether from a good or evil purpose, or to spend time in pointing out the difference between real and pretended miracles. The doctrine deduced from the text, to an elucidation of which we shall confine our attention, is this:—

THE MIRACLES WROUGHT BY THE LORD JESUS ARE A PROOF OF HIS DIVINITY. “They were written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.”

But why attempt to establish his divinity from his recorded acts merely? Are there not stronger arguments? Did he not claim all the prerogatives of Deity? Did he not say—I and the Father are one? Yes, verily. It is a doctrine that has not been left to conjecture, or to the mere force of inference. We contend that it has been clearly and explicitly revealed; and yet, how often is it the case that the most positive declarations are so interpreted as to mean any thing or nothing—that men admitting, in its full extent, the truth of the revelation which God has given us will, nevertheless, so interpret that truth as to favor their own preconceived creed? We pass by the positive declarations of the Bible on this subject, not because they are not sufficient, but because we esteem the miracles of the Saviour as affording strong *circumstantial evidence* of his divinity. We contend that his miracles, even had we no other arguments, are sufficient to prove what the text tells us they were recorded to establish, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God—the Son of God in such a sense as no other being ever was or claimed to be—the WORD that was in the beginning—that was with God—that was God. In doing this we have a two-fold object. We would, if it were possible, induce those whom we believe to be in error—in fatally delusive error on this subject, calmly and carefully to re-examine it—to weigh impartially the evidence we shall bring forward. We would, instrumentally at least, inspire a feeling within them similar to that which actuated Thomas when, addressing this same Jesus, he exclaimed, My Lord and my God! Whether successful in this object or not, we shall at least strengthen the faith and increase the confidence of those who have believed in his name. It is an object worthy of our highest concern, to add, in ever so small a degree, to the stability and firmness of that faith upon which, like a rock in the midst of a boisterous ocean, the humble disciple may rest secure when the winds blow, and the rains beat, and the floods threaten to engulf him.

I. With reference then to the miracles of Christ, we remark, in

the first place, that *they were numerous*. Had we said innumerable, we should perhaps be warranted in the assertion, by the declaration of the author of our text, in a subsequent chapter. "There are also," says he, "many other things which Jesus did, which, if they were written, I suppose the world would not contain the books that should be written." This saying of the evangelist, of course, is not to be understood literally; but, understand it in what way we will, it undoubtedly implies that but a very small part of Christ's miracles were recorded. Probably not a day, perhaps scarcely an hour of his ministerial life passed away, in which he did not exhibit some exertion of his miraculous power. He went about doing good. That his recorded acts are immensely disproportionate to the miracles which he actually performed, is evident from many incidental expressions in the gospels. There went out a fame of him through all the region around about. Great multitudes followed him—and he healed their sick, and he healed them all. "And *in the same hour* he cured *many* of their infirmities, and plagues, and of evil spirits; and unto *many* that were blind he gave sight." We need not dwell at farther length on this point. It leads naturally to our second remark, which is,

II. *The miracles of Christ were wrought publicly; in the presence of immense numbers of people.* There was no mysterious privacy—no studied ceremony to make them appear wonderful, or to provoke the attention of the people. Crowds followed and surrounded him; what he did was not done in a corner, but openly before the world, in the immediate presence of enemies as well as friends. Surrounded by the captious infidel, the self-righteous pharisee, and the scoffing scribe. Indeed it seems as if the evangelists selected rather those miracles which were wrought before the greatest number of people, as if aware that in after times objections might be raised to the truth of their testimony. Hence, among the vast number of miracles from which they had to select, we find some recorded by two, and others by three of the evangelists; and those which are so recorded are generally the miracles which were wrought before the greatest multitudes. We find, moreover, that there is one which each of the four has transmitted to us at full length, viz., the miracle of the loaves and fishes. How happened it that each should have chosen to record that one? It did not manifest greater power or more goodness than many of the others. The simple fact that it was witnessed—that it was seen and felt and realized by an immense concourse—probably by as many as fifteen thousand, (for there were five thousand men beside women and children,) seems to have been the only reason why each evangelist should so particularly have recorded it, and its attendant circumstances. The Founder of Christianity has disappeared—says the caviller—ye say that he has ascended into heaven, and this book is given to the world as evidence of his superhuman powers, of his transcendent goodness; but who saw any of these miracles? Where is he that was born blind? Where is the paralytic that was healed? Where is he that ye say was raised from the dead? Alas! Death hath again summoned him and he is gone. Then, indeed, might the scoffer have railed, and the skeptic doubted, and infidels of

every name, like their legitimate successors of the present day, enjoyed a fancied triumph. But stop: who is this bending with the weight of years? Who is this with his head bowed, and silvered with the frosts of seventy winters? Hear him:—"I saw Jesus break the bread, and lift his eyes to heaven—I heard him give thanks—I fed upon the bread his power created; and, though it was three-score years ago, yet shall I never forget that hour. What is written here is true, for *I was there.*" Thus for a long time after the ascension of Christ, living witnesses were not wanting to testify to the reality of the miracles that had been wrought—to bear evidence that there had been no deception—no fraud. It was reserved for later ages, when centuries had elapsed, for man in the plenitude of his self-sufficiency to hazard the opinions, eagerly swallowed by those who feared the truth, that, after all, the evidence of the divine authenticity of Christianity is doubtful. Thus, onward, step by step, one *conceives* the evidence to be weak; the next proclaims that it *is* weak, that it is inconclusive and insufficient; and, eventually, so rapidly and with such splendor does the light of reason, as it has been called, diffuse its beams, that in the opinion of its votaries there is no longer room for doubt itself—'tis a whole system of barefaced falsehood and unblushing deception! Strange that none of the *contemporaries* of the evangelists should have exposed the deception and proved the falsehood of the inspired penmen!

III. To proceed with our subject. It has been observed that man, finite in intellect, and seeing only through a glass darkly, is unable to comprehend God, an infinite, essential spirit; that he cannot, by searching, find out the Almighty to perfection. Hence it became necessary in the revelation of himself, that man might form some idea of the incomprehensible, to unfold unto us his *attributes*. It was not enough to say, "God is a spirit,"—an eternal spirit. And in prosecuting our inquiry we ask, What are the attributes of Jehovah? For if He who wrought these miracles were really and truly God, they will undoubtedly manifest the attributes of God. In other words, if God were their author we shall find his attributes displayed in them.

The peculiar glory of the Deity is *goodness*. "I beseech thee," said Moses, "show me thy *glory.*" "I will make," said the Uncreated,—*"I will make my goodness pass before thee."* Search then the record of the deeds of Jesus, and what do we find but instances of goodness throughout his whole career? Is there in his whole history one solitary act recorded—one deed wrought—that was not a proof of his love to the children of men? Of his forbearance, his longsuffering, his goodness? Indeed there is only one which at the very first sight does not bear the most convincing evidence that they were wrought for the special good of man. I allude to his cursing the barren fig tree which he passed on his way to Bethany, and which withered at his malediction. Now let it be borne in mind, that this tree was not any man's private property. It grew by the wayside. No individual was therefore even temporarily injured by our Lord's conduct; and his design was evidently to do good. He not only gave evidence of his power, which tended to strengthen the faith of his disciples, but he also gave to all who saw the transaction—yea, to all who might hear of it to the latest

period of time, an awful warning against *unfruitfulness*. "Herein is my Father glorified, that *ye bear much fruit*."

See him, on his way through the towns and villages, cleansing the leper and healing the palsied—unstopping the ears of the deaf, causing the dumb to speak, casting out devils, and

"From thick films behold him purge the visual ray,
And on the sightless eyeball pour the day."

Hear him, in accents of the tenderest compassion, when he meets the aged and desolate widow following to the tomb her only son, her last hope—hear him say unto her, "Weep not." At the grave of him who had been dead four days, behold him shed the sympathetic tear with the afflicted sisters of him whom he loved. These, however, are but small portions of his manifested goodness. It extended not merely to his friends: it reached, it embraced, even his bitterest enemies. When Peter, with characteristic rashness, smote off with his sword the ear of the high priest's servant, he reached forth his hand and healed it, either by creating a new one, or, what was scarcely less miraculous, by restoring the one that had been cut off to perfect soundness.

Once, and once only, did he refuse to exert his wondrous power. It was when his disciples, not knowing what spirit they were of, besought him to call fire from heaven to destroy his enemies. He came not to destroy but to save.

Indeed to notice all the evidences of his *goodness* would be to transcribe the greater part of his eventful history. Follow him to his last hour. Hear him, with his last breath, surrounded by those who had lacerated his body and nailed him to the accursed cross—when with a word, a gesture, a look, he might have overwhelmed them with utter destruction—hear his cry—"Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

I am aware that more than this is necessary to establish the doctrine of the text. More is at hand. I know it will be said, goodness is a *communicable* attribute of Jehovah. Let us go a step further.

IV. One peculiar attribute of the Deity is *ubiquity* or *omnipresence*. "Am I a God at hand and not afar off?" saith the Lord, "Do I not fill heaven and earth?" Whither shall I flee from thy presence? And although this is beyond our depth, and the manner of it inconceivable by finite minds, yet it is a truth which he himself has condescended to reveal, and one that is a source of constant comfort and joy to the believer. Let us look, then, at the recorded acts of the Lord Jesus. Do we find any evidence that he possessed this attribute? Surely no mortal—no creature, of whatever rank in the scale of being—ever possessed this attribute; no *good* being ever claimed it. It is absolutely incommunicable. Should we, then, find ample evidence in the recorded acts of Jesus of Nazareth—in the signs which are written in this book—that he was actually present in more places than one at the same time, what will it prove? Will it not establish his Divinity beyond the possibility of an *honest* doubt? establish it in defiance of the recklessness of the *dishonest* skeptic?

Matthew informs us of the case of a Canaanitish or Syrophenician woman, who, with great earnestness and importunity, besought the Saviour to heal her sick daughter. For the trial of her

faith, Jesus, at first, paid little attention to her entreaties. "I am not sent," said he, "but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel"—and "it is not meet to cast the children's bread to the dogs." "Truth, Lord," she replied; "yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table." "Then Jesus answered and said unto her, O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt. *And her daughter was made whole from that very hour,*" Matt. xv. 22-28. So again with the centurion's servant—at home—sick of the palsy—grievously tormented. "I will come," said Jesus in answer to the request of his master, "*I will come and heal him.*" But the centurion answered, "I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof: speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed."—"And Jesus saith unto him, *Go thy way,*"—and "his servant was *healed in the selfsame hour,*" Matt. viii. 5-13. Let it be observed here with what particularity of emphasis the evangelists dwell on the fact that those who were healed were healed in the *selfsame hour: from that very hour*—Jesus spake and it was done. The healing power was communicated by a word of his, though at the distance of miles from the grievously tormented sufferers.

But the case of the nobleman's son, as recorded by John, is still more explicit. "When he heard that Jesus was come out of Judea into Galilee, he went unto him, and besought him that he would come down to Capernaum and heal his son: for he was at the point of death." "Sir," said he, "come down ere my child die." "Jesus saith unto him, *Go thy way; thy son liveth.*" And as the nobleman was on his return homeward, his servants met him, bringing the joyful news—"Thy son liveth." Then inquired he of them the hour when he began to amend. And they replied, "Yesterday, at the seventh hour," the very hour in which Jesus spake the word—he did what? began to amend?—no, but "*the fever left him,*" John iv, 46-53.

Now as it is impossible, even in imagination, to conceive of a mere man performing any act, much less a miraculous cure, at a distance from where he is—as it is impossible even in idea to separate the power exerted by any individual from the individual himself—for it is an established axiom, where an individual acts, there he is—it follows that Jesus must at the same moment have been at Cana in Galilee with his disciples, and at Capernaum by the bedside of the sick man. Does not this indicate ubiquity? By what power other than that which fills all space could such acts be performed? Do they not attest the *omnipresence* of him who wrought them? It would seem from the narrative of the case last referred to, that at least one family thought so; for it is added that the nobleman believed and his whole house. Believed what? That the sick man had been cured?—That he who healed him was an extraordinary man? It would appear little better than trifling, had this been all, to give so much prominence to his *believing, with his whole house.*

Let it be observed, with reference to these miracles, that there was no appearance of any thing like *delegated* power—that there was no *intermediate* agent invoked or instrumentality employed—

no prayer to, or acknowledgment of, a superior Being. "Thy son liveth:" "Go thy way:" "Be it done even as thou wilt."

V. Again, Omniscience is an attribute of Jehovah. Great is the Lord, and his understanding is infinite. The darkness hideth not from him, but the night shineth as the day. "He that formed the eye," saith the Psalmist, "shall he not see?" that is, granting that the eye was formed by some being, shall he not see? "He that formed the ear, shall he not hear?" Doth not he who gave all these pleasing and wonderful faculties to man possess them in the highest degree of perfection?

Let us examine, then, the recorded acts of the Lord Jesus. If we find in them any evidences of omniscience, our faith in him as very God will be abundantly strengthened. "Lord," said the Galilean fisherman, "we have toiled all night and have taken nothing," Luke v, 5. "Let down the net, on the right side of the ship," said the Saviour. Having done this, their net was so full that it came near breaking. "Take a hook," said he, to one of his disciples, "and cast it into the sea, and in the mouth of the first fish that cometh up, when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money," Matt. xvii, 27. Now shall we ask, how came the money there? or, how came it that *that* fish, of all the myriads that sported in the waters, should at that time take hold of Peter's hook? Nay, but we ask, how knew Jesus to what particular spot the fisherman would go?—how knew he that in that fish's mouth money just sufficient for their purpose would be found?—how knew he that *that* fish would be taken?

Who is this whose eye penetrates the abyss of the dark waters? Who is this so intimately acquainted, even with the lowest class of living creatures, as to know when and where they are in their wild gambols and chance-directed sports?

But the evidences of his omniscience rest not here. His knowledge extended to the depths of the human heart. "The heart is deceitful above all things, who can know it?" Surely none but he that created it—none but God. It is man's province to look on the *outward* appearance, but "God looketh upon the heart." "Thou," said Solomon in his dedicatory prayer, "even thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men." In such truths as these, how are we to account for the frequent instances in which Christ *replied to the thoughts of his hearers*, otherwise than by attributing to him this prerogative of the Deity? In several instances the evangelists notice, in an apparently casual manner, the readiness and promptness with which he *answered the thoughts* of those around him. These facts must be familiar to every reader of the Scriptures, and consequently need not be minutely specified.

His knowledge extended not only to the *present* thoughts, but back to the past, and forward to the future. "Come," said the woman of Samaria, "Come see a man that told me all things ever I did." He foretold the manner and time of his own death. When his chosen twelve were seated round him at the last supper, his eye pierced the breast of the traitor, and exposed him to his favorite John. "Thou art Peter," said he at an early period of his ministry, "and on this rock will I build my church." Near the consummation of his wondrous work, turning to this same Peter, he said, "This

night, ere the cock crow, thou wilt deny me," not once, but "thrice." What! the bold Peter—the boldest of the twelve—he who drew his sword in defence of his master—who was ready to go with him to imprisonment and to death,—he deny his Lord!—Though all should deny him, surely Peter would not—*could* not do it. But alas! his history is familiar to you, and is at once a lamentable instance of the folly of human self-confidence, and a proof of the unerring pre-science of the Saviour—of his intimate acquaintance with the human heart.

VI. In the sacred Scriptures, we find *omnipotence* attributed to Jehovah. He is the **ALMIGHTY**. Was Jesus of Nazareth omnipotent? Did he in reality possess, as he distinctly declared after his resurrection, *all* power in heaven and in earth? Certainly there can be but one Almighty—but one possessed of *all* power. The evidences of his omnipotence are not, perhaps, to be gleaned from isolated acts, but from the united whole of the "signs" which "Jesus truly did." We do not appeal to his speaking the dead to life; to his walking on the waves; to his creative power in supplying bread to the hungry. We do not refer to his touch, giving sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, soundness to the sick—to his voice, heard and obeyed by the winds and the waves; by devils; by the newly dead; by the dead and buried a long time. To none of these signs singly and alone, but to the whole, added to the fact before alluded to, that he was always ready, always the same. To this sum total do we point as evidence of the omnipotence of Jesus.

It may, perhaps, be as well here to notice an objection that has been urged against the doctrine advanced. It is urged that admitting the truth of the record, the reality of all the miracles attributed to Jesus Christ, there is not evidence sufficient to conclude that he was anything more than a holy, just, and benevolent man—that he was a prophet, and one high in favor with the great I AM. For, it is further urged, miracles have been wrought, cures have been effected, events have been foretold—nay the dead have been raised by holy men under the old and the new dispensation. Suppose we admit the truth of all this, what follows? Why, that Jehovah, for wise purposes, has in such instances, conferred upon man the power by which such miracles have been wrought. That it was a *delegated power*. This indeed has been freely admitted, nay gloried in, by the individuals themselves. Look at the miracles of Moses and Aaron, of Joshua and Elijah, and more especially of the apostles. Did they ever work miracles in their own name, by their own inherent power? Far from it. "Say unto Pharaoh, I AM hath sent you." At the memorable time when the sun was arrested in his course, we are told that Joshua, in the first place, spake unto the **LORD**: and immediately after it is added, "There was no day like that before it or after it, that the **LORD** hearkened unto the voice of a man," Josh. x, 12-14. "Where is," said the successor of the Tishbite,—where is Elijah?—no: "where is the **LORD** God of Elijah?" "Ye men of Israel," said Peter, "why marvel ye at this? or why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by *our own power or holiness* we had done this?" Acts iii, 12. Such conduct—such language—is precisely what might be expected from good men,

anxious that the glory should be given to whom it was due; that the power should be ascribed to him from whom they derived it.

Contrast now this language with the conduct of Christ. Does he ever give the glory of his works to another? Does he invoke the name of a superior power? He does not. So far from it that he more than intimates, throughout all his miracles, that the works were his own, and his own only. To the leper he said, "I will—be thou clean;" to the infirm woman, "Thou art loosed from thine infirmity;" to the widow's son, "Young man, I say unto thee, arise;" to Lazarus, "Come forth." To the winds he uttered his rebuke. To the waves he said, "Peace, be still;" of the sick man, "*I will come and heal him.*"

The question then recurs, Were these miracles wrought by delegated or inherent power? If by the former, what are we to think of their author? A deceiver—an impostor? Hold, who dares venture an insinuation like this? And yet there is no alternative—absolutely none. He claimed to work them in his own name. He professed that they were wrought by his own power. If they were not—what was he? If they were, he was the Almighty—the everlasting God.

VII. There remains yet another description of the wonderful works of Christ, as evidence of his divine nature, to which we have not adverted. We allude to his forgiving sins. That this is the exclusive prerogative of Jehovah is alike evident from the declarations of Scripture and the deductions of common sense. "Bless the Lord, O my soul," says the Psalmist, "who forgiveth all thine iniquities." "There is forgiveness with thee, O Lord." And "who," said the scribes and Pharisees, "can forgive sins but God only?" Most certainly no one. For what is sin? A transgression of God's law. Who then *can* forgive, but he against whose law the sinner has transgressed? Listen a moment, then, to the language of Jesus. "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee"—"Go in peace and sin no more"—"That ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins." What language is this? Who is it that thus speaketh? Who is it that blots out the record against the sinner in the register of heaven?—that wipes away every stain from the polluted conscience?—that says, "*Go in peace?*"

It may possibly be objected here, that those to whom Jesus spake pardon had repented; that the Father had forgiven them; and that Jesus was only commissioned to apprise them of the fact. Now this is but a supposition—a lame supposition, and contrary to the evidence left on record. He does not say, "Thou hast repented and art forgiven"—"Because thou art sorry for thy sins, thou art pardoned"—but "Thy faith hath saved thee." Faith in whom? "I believe that thou art Christ the Son of God." Believing this in the heart, the pardon came, the soul was justified. "Verily I say unto you, her sins, which are many, are all forgiven her." In confirmation of the truth of these remarks, look for a moment at his last exhibition of saving power, while he tabernacled in the flesh. In the presence of his enemies, stretched bleeding upon the cross, a few moments only before he dismissed his spirit, he said to the malefactor by his side, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise."

It has been observed that we have this one instance of a soul's

finding forgiveness in his last hour, that none might despair; and *but* this one, that none might presume. We think, also, it may have been recorded that none might attribute salvation to works; to sorrow for sin; to bitterness of grief; to tears of anguish. It was faith in the Lord Jesus that in the days of his incarnation brought forgiveness to the sinner. It is by an exercise of the same faith now, that the eyes of the spiritually blind are opened; that the fetters of the bondman are broken—that the dead are quickened. In the language of the latter part of the text—upon which, by way of improvement, we have a few remarks to make—it is by *believing*, that we have life through his name.

But is not sorrow for sin then necessary? Is not repentance toward God essential to salvation? They are indeed. They are both necessary in order that the sinner *may be prepared to believe*. They are prerequisites to justifying faith. But there is nothing—there *can be nothing* meritorious in them. “*Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.*” “That *believing* ye may have life through his name.”

Again, the progressive advancement of the Christian is attributable to the same cause. “I am come, not only that they might have life, but that they might have it *more abundantly*,” John x, 10. Raised from spiritual death to life, the Christian is aptly compared to a new-born babe. Food is necessary that he may grow up to the stature of a man. It is here provided for him—“I,” said Jesus, “I am the bread of life—the bread that came down from heaven.” He is the tree of life, no longer guarded by cherubim and a flaming sword, but inviting all to approach, “and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever,” Gen. iii, 24. So long as the Christian continues in his vital union to Christ, like the branches of the vine, he derives thence sap, sustenance, vigor, strength, fruitfulness. “But as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me,” John xv, 4. He is made unto us sanctification, as well as redemption. (1 Cor. i, 30.) Hence the untiring effort of every growing Christian is to cleave closer and closer to his beloved embrace; and his unceasing prayer is, “Evermore give us this bread,” John vi, 34.

But farther, the light of our subject dispels the darkness of the tomb. It answers the momentous, the absorbing question, “If a man die, shall he live again?”

“Shall spring ever visit the mouldering urn?
Shall day ever dawn on the night of the grave?”

“Believing, we have life through his name”—the name of that Jesus who declared himself the *resurrection*, as well as the life. “The hour is coming in which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth”—“when this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality.” “Because I live, ye shall live also.”

It indicates also the source of the bliss of the redeemed in heaven. The crowns of gold, the palms of victory, the river that maketh glad the city of God; the golden pavements of that city, and its walls and gates of jasper may be, perhaps are, mere figures used to convey some idea to man’s finite intellect of the happiness of

heaven. What are they all, compared with life through his name—a vital, an eternal union with Christ? “As thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us. I in thee, and thou in me,” John xvii, 21–23. This is heaven—this the glory reserved for them that love God: one with Christ, as he is one with the Father.

Again, we may learn from our subject one reason of the little success of the Christian ministry in many places. Christ and life through HIS name have not always had sufficient prominence in the labors of the ministry of reconciliation. Not indeed that he has always been kept out of sight, or in the back-ground. But where he has not been the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last, the all and in all, what warrant was there to expect, what right to look for, the outpouring of his Spirit—the manifestation of the life-giving power of his name? The first lesson that the ambassador of the cross should learn—a lesson, the influences of which should be ever present with him, in the closet, the study, the pulpit, everywhere—is found in those impressive words of Christ, “Without me ye can do nothing,” John xv, 5. Here is the secret of the success which crowned the efforts of the apostles. “We preach Christ crucified;”—“Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God,” 1 Cor. i, 23, 24. “I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified,” 1 Cor. ii, 2. “Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord,” Phil. ii, 8. For “I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me,” Col. iv, 13.

Finally, We may learn from our subject why it is that any finally perish. It is not because there was not a sufficiency of merit in the atoning blood to embrace every soul of man. It was an *infinite* sacrifice. It is not because any were passed by: “God is no respecter of persons.” There is no limit to the provisions of the Gospel, to the invitations of Christ. “Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.” “Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.” “These things are written that *thou* mayst believe; that believing *thou* mayst have life through his name.” Will you say—*dare* you say—there is not evidence enough to induce belief? Have you examined it carefully, calmly, impartially? Above all, have you sought the illuminating influences of the Spirit? *LIGHT has come* into the world. Are you willing still to be classed with those who love darkness rather than light? Shall it be still said of you—shall it be said of you by him who wept over perishing sinners when the day of their visitation was past—when the things that belonged to their peace were for ever hid from their eyes—shall it be said—“YE WILL NOT come unto ME that ye might have LIFE.”

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN FRANCE.

It appears from the following statement of facts, taken from Blackwood's Magazine, that religious liberty in France is not as permanently established as many seem to have supposed. It was natural to conclude, that, after the struggles through which the nation had passed to emancipate itself from civil and religious oppression, provision would be made effectually to guard against a recurrence of either. But a moment's reflection ought to satisfy us that such a hope was visionary. Infidelity is not the foster sister of vital godliness. It is naturally intolerant and vicious toward it under any circumstances.

True, the infidel leaders in France found it to their interest to excite public indignation against the intolerance of the church, during their revolutionary course. It was not, however, because they had any respect for religious freedom more than those they opposed, but only to effect their overthrow. We are not at all surprised, therefore, to find the spirit of persecution roused in France simultaneously with the revival of pure and undefiled religion.

The event, however, does not alarm our fears with respect to the progress of the gospel in that nation. Whatever may be the disposition of the present rulers, acting under the dominant influence of a corrupt philosophy, whose principles and axioms were everywhere inculcated to produce an entire change of the civil and religious policy of the country, the people have in the process been taught lessons on the question of human rights of which they can never be divested. They have learned *their own rights*, and whenever called to do so, will assert them with a firmness and decision that will not be misunderstood. All correct observation on the state of the country goes to show that a spirit favorable to the spread of the gospel and the principles of evangelical piety is abroad in the land, and rapidly increasing. Let then the spirit of persecution break forth in its fury—let only a few more such outrages as are detailed in the article below be perpetrated, and it will rouse the people to defend the persecuted, and place their rights upon a firm footing. Nor is this all. It will call up their attention to the cause in which they suffer. A smooth, quiet course may be pleasant, and, on many accounts, desirable. But it is not in the nature of things, that an extended and thorough revival of evangelical piety should take place in such a country as France—and in the midst of so much infidelity and irreligion—without persecution. The labors of a few ministers professing evangelical principles, performed quietly and without opposition, would lose their effect upon such a mass of corruption, were nothing to occur to agitate the community and turn the eyes of the listless multitude toward them. For this

very purpose God has always wisely overruled the persecutions of his people, and thus caused the wrath of man to praise him. It may therefore be presumed that the persecutions which the few faithful ministers in France are now called to suffer, will ultimately result in the furtherance of the gospel in that nation.

"It is generally thought that, since the priestly power has been humbled, as perfect a religious liberty prevails in France as in any other part of the world; or even more than this, that if several other nations enjoy a legal toleration and freedom in this matter which leaves nothing to be desired, the *principle*, at least, of liberty of worship is more largely, more liberally, more philosophically understood in that country than anywhere else. And this in a *philosophic* sense may be the case. The doctrine of toleration was originally propagated in France through the exertions of the infidel philosophers. It sprung consequently out of an indifference, or rather an impartial hostility, toward every form of Christianity. This gave a roundness, a positiveness, an absolute tone to its expression, which among other people, where there were attachments and preferences given to particular creeds and systems, was not to be met with. Hence it has happened that France has got the character of being superlatively enlightened on the subject of religious liberty. Excepting the Catholic priesthood from this praise, it has been universally deemed justly due to the great body of the nation. But the truth is, the doctrine of freedom of worship has in that country been hitherto little more than a philosophic dictum. Since it has been promulgated so roundly, there have been few opportunities of practising it. The revival of the national Reformed Church did not furnish one of these. That event was a matter of state policy, and considering the lethargic condition of French Protestantism at the time, its re-establishment, limited and crippled by the very nature of its organization, could hardly alarm the most susceptible bigotry, or the most malignant infidelity. Since then, till within the last year or two, there has been no religious movement in the country at all, and a dogma proclaiming complete liberty of worship, has been inscribed in the *Charte*. And while, on the one hand, this dogma remained unchallenged by events, and, on the other, there was a perfect stillness and passiveness in the religious world, it was only fair to believe that this solemn proclamation of freedom was synonymous with its virtual possession and enjoyment. But several striking facts have lately shown that this is not the case. Certainly there can be no doubt that Frenchmen cherish liberty of worship, as they do every other kind of liberty, as an abstract principle; but this principle, it would appear, they have recorded in their great national code barely as a philosophic maxim never intended to be carried out into practice. It was not indeed, in order that the gospel should put forth fresh shoots of life that religious liberty in France was made the law of the land, but rather that all denominations of Christians should alike live in equal contempt, security, and quietude. That antichristian philosophy which was the parent of French toleration, could neither design nor desire more than this. And, if we compare this state of sufferance, which is all that

is intentionally provided for, with the free and unlimited scope given to all religious opinions and religious establishments among ourselves and in other Protestant countries, we shall find that, in practice at least, freedom of worship is among our French neighbors yet in its infancy. It is only where we see such a spectacle as Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Independents, Baptists, and other numerous sects flourishing together, that we can say religious liberty is truly exhibited. Its spirit, however, may be shown without such a variety of examples. But this kind of liberty has never been in the contemplation either of French philosophy or of French law. A personal right to worship according to one's conscience is fully and cordially recorded, but whenever the Protestants of France have pushed this right in an aggressive direction, and have been successful in making proselytes, they have invariably encountered resistance, which has been frequently seconded and rendered triumphant by legal decisions against them. It is only lately indeed that such facts as we refer to have happened, for it is only lately that the awakening zeal of French Protestantism has provoked them. The consequence which has resulted is, that the limit of liberty granted by the French law, according to recent interpretations, is now marked; and it behooves the Reformed Churches of France early and unanimously to show that this limit, arbitrarily assigned, is in effect a denial of their rights altogether; and to contend manfully and fearlessly, as a body placed in the very vanguard of Christian truth in their country, for their undoubted and chartered privileges.

We have alluded above to certain flagrantly iniquitous and tyrannical sentences pronounced against French preachers of the gospel within the last few months. We should not, however, think it incumbent on us to interfere in the matter, but should leave the battle to be fought out by those more immediately interested in it, if the sound part of the Reformed party in France did not labor under peculiar difficulties. In the first place, they have no audience in the nation. Whatever injustice may be done them, the people in general know nothing and care nothing about it. Their appeals to the public never extend beyond their own circle. Secondly, they are a timid race. Having been so long accustomed to persecution, and to act the part of meek and silent sufferers, or to express unbounded gratitude for mere tolerance, they hardly know how to assume the port and demeanor of bold asserters of truths and rights in the face of society at large. Thirdly, they have wisely and conscientiously kept themselves apart from politics, and consequently, being identified with no political party, they possess no influence with the government to uphold their cause. Fourthly, grievances which affect even bodies of men, thus without power, are generally overlooked by the French legislature as unimportant. Petitions, or representations from particular parties or descriptions of persons, are huddled up in a common miscellany or farrago of minor matters in the chamber of deputies, and excite not so much national sympathy or sensation as an injury done to a single individual does among us. Fifthly, England has ever stepped in as the defender of the Reformation in France whenever its doctrines have been tyrannically opposed; and often has a voice of indignation from this side of the water, and sometimes even direct interference,

stayed and averted acts of oppression which would otherwise have fallen on our French Protestant brethren. And, sixthly, and chiefly, we know that there is only a feeble section of the Reformed population in France truly zealous for the spread of their creed, and that the efforts of this select division are rather thwarted than assisted by the great majority of their co-religionists. We feel it therefore becomes our duty to bring our aid to those with whom we are convinced the cause of the gospel in their country exclusively resides. It may be thought, perhaps, that we have spoken slightly of this party, inasmuch as we have accused them of timidity; but if they have this defect, or rather, if they want enterprise and hardihood, not in propagating their faith, but in confronting their adversaries, this arises from a singular meekness and gentleness, and purity, and simplicity, and candor, and unworldliness of mind, which it would perhaps be impossible to find in any other society of Christians throughout the world. These traits of their character, so rarely combined with that daringness of spirit which accompanies a sense of strength and prosperity, only gives them in our estimation additional interest.

The cases we have now to expose, regarded even as isolated facts, are crying acts of injustice and oppression; but considered as *precedents*, as mere initiatory trials of power, to be repeated with increasing emphasis and authority whenever occasions may present themselves, they assume a significance which jeopard the very existence of religious liberty. If means be not speedily found of reversing the decisions which have been lately pronounced in French courts of law, we have no hesitation in saying that the gospel will be more effectually suppressed in France than it could be by open and violent persecution. These decisions remaining uninvalidated, every petty authority in that country will have an extinguisher ready to put upon the Reformed creed whenever there is the slightest prospect of its extending beyond the walls of the national temple; and within those walls, as we have shown in some late papers, there is but a slender prospect of its showing much life, if not acted upon by an external impulsion from the unsalaried churches. The question, therefore, before us, appears so important that, although we have been for some time designing to give our readers some farther accounts of French Protestantism in general, we think it better to treat of our present subject separately, that it may receive the full measure of attention it deserves. The matter which actually engages us is not *French* but *Protestant*, and concerns much more nearly those who are interested in the progress of the Reformation, than it does either the French government or the French people, to both of whom it is a topic essentially alien.

We now come to the exposition of the facts which have called forth the above reflections, and in doing so we must request our readers' patience, for we have a question of law to unravel which is indispensable to the understanding of the case before us. In the month of February last, Mr. Oster, a minister of the Reformed Church of the confession of Augsburg, was summoned by the mayor of Metz, in which place he was residing and officiating as a minister of the gospel, to shut up the apartment which served him

for a chapel, and to discontinue the meetings which were held there for religious purposes. The mayor of Metz considered himself authorized to take this step by the 294th article of the penal code, which is directed against all associations not expressly permitted by a chief magistrate. The pastor, Oster, in his defence appealed to the correctional police of the town, and that tribunal, in an energetic sentence, declared, that according to the 5th article of the *Charte*, which proclaims a complete religious liberty, the defendant was perfectly justified in holding assemblies for religious worship without the authorization of the mayor. Upon this that magistrate carried his case before the *Cour Royal* of Metz, and obtained a sentence which has condemned the pastor. It is necessary here to transcribe a few heads of this sentence, that its logic may be known. "Considering," it says, "that J. P. Oster, calling himself a minister of the Christian church of the confession of Augsburg, has in the course of December last, without permission from authority, and in spite of its forbiddance, given an apartment in a house which he occupies, for an assembly of twenty-three persons met together for the purpose of worship: considering that this act is provided against and repressed by the precise dispositions of the 294th article of the penal code: considering that Mr. Oster pretends that these dispositions have ceased to exist since the publication of the 5th article of the *Charte* of 1830, with which they are irreconcilable: considering that without doubt this abrogation has not been expressly pronounced by any law, and that it can therefore be but tacit: considering that the principle of liberty of worship is formally proclaimed by the *Charte* in its 5th article, as individual liberty is by the 4th article, and the liberty of the press by the 7th article: considering that the liberty of the press and individual liberty are unquestionably as precious to Frenchmen as liberty of worship, and that nevertheless it cannot be contested that both one and the other are subject to numerous precautionary restrictions, and to the *surveillance* of the police: considering that liberty of worship must inevitably be subject to the same restraints; that no one has ever pretended that this liberty is so illimitable that it can be subject to no measures and no superintendence of the police, and that, in fact, from the admission of such a proposition there would result consequences utterly incompatible with the existence of all organized society:" considering these, and many other matters, which are mere flourishes of rhetoric or appeals to precedents of times of despotism and persecution, the *Cour Royal* of Metz condemned Mr. Oster, and suppressed the worship of which he was the minister. Mr. Oster then appeals to the Court of *Cassation* of Paris, and that tribunal has confirmed the judgment of the *Cour Royal* of Metz, going over the same arguments in the sentence it delivered.

In order to unravel the sophistry of the judgment we have just quoted, it is necessary to enter somewhat at length into its detail, and first to state the question in its true light. By the 5th article of the *Charte* complete liberty of worship is roundly proclaimed; but, lest this should have the character of a naked abstract maxim—the character now sought to be given to it—special provisions, of an anterior date certainly, are fortunately connected with it, which show that it was not intended to be laid down as a mere first principle

of law to be subject to modifications in its developments, but as a law, in itself complete and sufficient for all its practical purposes. If this were not its just sense, it would have been absurd to guard it with specific conditions. A bare axiom abjures such limitations. These limitations which gave the 5th article of the *Charte* so emphatically its practical signification are,—1st, That any one who designs to establish a worship shall make a *previous declaration* to the mayor, or other chief authority, of his intention to do so; 2d, That he shall *specify the hours* at which religious service is to take place; and, 3d, That the building or house in which these services are held shall have its *doors open* for the free admission of the public. Here we see ample provision is made against any unlawful proceedings on the part of religionists. In legalizing the right of individuals to worship according to their conscience, the state does not thereby dispossess itself of its own rights. An entrance is left purposely open for the civil authority to interpose whenever the real *bona fide* purposes of worship are transgressed, or any disorder or misdemeanor against society is committed. That argument, therefore, in the sentence of the *Cour Royal* of Metz, which insists upon the dangerousness of an unlimited religious freedom, falls utterly to the ground. For we see that the law *does* provide very specific limits to this liberty, and such as give to the state, within its own province, complete security and unbounded power. The other arguments which that sentence embodies are still more subtle and still more false. "Individual liberty," it says, "and the liberty of the press, are unquestionably as precious to Frenchmen as liberty of worship, and they are nevertheless both subject to precautionary repressions," &c. Here three things are with wilful dishonesty and malignity confounded together, which are essentially different. The announcement of absolute individual liberty to men in civil society can be nothing but a metaphysical axiom, which we have shown that the 5th article of the *Charte* is not. And even if that article had not, as it has, an accompanying precise limitation and definition of its sense, it would still, however generally expressed, be *specific*, for it would point to one *special* object, and be confined within a certain compass, whereas the declaration of individual liberty can never be anything but a vague assertion of a principle which, in its abstract state, can admit of no practical application.

We might also show that the liberty of the press, and liberty of worship, come each under a distinct category. Since, however, the logic-loving judges of Metz and Paris have chosen to compare them together, they should have made it appear at least that the law had dealt equally with both; that as the restraints imposed upon the press arose from its excesses, so the like restraints imposed upon religious worship were provoked in a like manner. But this they have not done or attempted to do. They dare not even to insinuate that the slightest excess or transgression has been committed by the religionists they have condemned, or the congregations they have suppressed. They justify their decisions simply by maintaining that what they have done, though unprovoked by ill conduct on the part of those who have suffered, has nevertheless been done by the exertion of a legal power. This legal power is supposed to be conferred by the 294th article of the penal code. By this article, no associations are

allowed to be formed, or to hold assemblies, without the authorization of a chief magistrate. But as the 5th article of the *Charte* requires no authorization of this kind to establish a worship, it is evident that the two articles severally point at different objects: otherwise they are irreconcilable, and mutually destroy each other, which supposition reduces the argument of those who lean upon the penal code in the present case *ad absurdum*. Or, to place the question in a less senseless point of view, if there be any real contradiction between the two articles, it is manifest that the one of the latest date (the 5th of the *Charte*) must set aside the earlier one; for it is perfectly inane to pretend that a recent law is annulled by an old one, that is, promulgated only to be instantly destroyed. The contrary assertion may often be unjustly maintained. Old laws, without being formally, are frequently virtually abrogated by later ones. They become obsolete. In the present instance, however, we believe that the two articles, that of the *Charte* and that of the penal code, both coexist in force, for that they have completely distinct objects in view. The 5th article of the *Charte* has exclusively a *religious* sense, and the 294th of the code exclusively a *political* one. The latter assertion is acknowledged as true even in the sentence of the Court of *Cassation* against Mr. Oster. "Considering," it says, "that the offences of those who form *political* associations are provided against by the 291st article of the penal code, &c., and considering that the offences provided against by the 294th article of the same code are of the *same nature*," &c. &c. But if there were any real honest doubt in this matter, it would be cleared up by the French keeper of the seals, on the passing of the recent law against associations. This law, it must be borne in mind, is in its intents identical with the articles 291 and 294 of the penal code, only it gives larger powers than those articles do. On the occasion of its passing through the chamber of deputies, the *garde des sceaux* expressed himself as follows:—"There is here a great distinction to be made. With respect to assemblies which have for their sole object the worship of the Divinity, and to exercise this worship, this law is not applicable. We make this declaration in the most formal manner." The reporter of the chamber officers, also, in bringing up the law, *repeated* the words of the *garde des sceaux*, and added, "If this ample declaration is not the law itself, it at least forms the official and inseparable commentary on it; *it is on the strength and good faith of this commentary* that the law has been adopted by the other chamber, and should be adopted by you: and there can be no doubt that every tribunal in France will understand it in the same sense." Further than this, when M. the Baron Roger and M. Dubois proposed an amendment to the law of associations, that religious assemblies might be *expressly* left out of its scope, they both of them abandoned their project on the positive declaration of Mr. Persil, "that the law was applicable only to *political* associations, and in no manner concerned religious meetings, and that there was no court of law in France which could so far mistake its intent as to apply its provisions to the letter."

We believe we have now unravelled the sophistries, and exposed the illegality of the sentences pronounced by the tribunals of Metz and Paris. We know of nothing so despicable, and, at the same

time, so dreadful, as such attempts as we have laid open, to wrench the law from its fair and obvious construction and this in the very face of contrary interpretations coming from the highest authority. We see in such decisions the shuffling writhings of a base and reptile tyranny hiding itself under the subterfuges of a false legal logic, and, to make itself still more hateful, assuming all the solemnities of judicial dignity. It is impossible to conceive anything so loathsome and fearful as this display. The only man who has risen in the chamber of deputies to protest against this flagrant act of iniquity and oppression was the *procureur général*, and president of the chamber, M. Dupin. He insisted indignantly upon the infraction of the *Charte*, and of religious liberty, committed, in the case of Oster, by the mayor of Metz, and declared the sentences of the law tribunals to be "*absurd and unjust*." The keeper of the great seal, Monsieur Sauzet, promised in reply, that the affair should be inquired into, and justice done; yet though nine months have elapsed since that time, no step has been taken to reverse the decision, which has ejected Monsieur Oster from his ministry, and suppressed his congregation. What makes this the more remarkable is, that there are eighty Protestant members in the chamber of deputies, not one of whom, with the exception we have mentioned, has lifted a voice in defence of his religion; they all, indeed, seem to consider it a matter in which they have no concern. Nothing can prove more than this fact the propriety of English advocacy, as far as a strong expression of opinion goes, on this occasion. In truth, the only real Protestants of France, the few who stand up for, and maintain their faith, are in so feeble a minority, that they require every sort of aid and encouragement. With respect to the motives which have produced the late decisions, they are easily discovered. There is a common hostility in the petty local self-important magistrates of France against zealous religionists; and this is fully partaken of by the lawyers, who have a natural antipathy to every cloth but their own, particularly if it be of the same color. In all countries, too, men invested with a sacred character, especially if they act up to that character, would be torn to pieces by the philosophic rabble, (unless a prevailing superstition intervened to save them,) if that rabble could have their way. Then the higher French authorities hate the assertion of *right* of every kind; and whenever they encounter it, endeavor to put it down as an enemy to the government. Beside, the cabinet of the Tuilleries has lately made peace with the Romish Church. One of its chief designs actually is, to prop itself on the priesthood, and, if possible, to bring them into honor and power throughout the nation. Both as a means to this end, and as a high gratification to the Popish party, who are to be conciliated, the crippling of Protestantism is looked upon, if not promoted, with secret complacency. And, in addition to all this, the description of persons aggrieved by the violation of law we have exposed, and the cause they espoused, are both regarded as so *intrinsically insignificant* as to be hardly worth a thought.

Mr. Oster, the gentleman whose case we have now finished, is a missionary from the society in London for the conversion of the Jews. His conduct and character are acknowledged, even by his accusers, to have ever been perfectly irreproachable; and as a

preacher of the gospel, he has shown himself to be most able, zealous, and successful. These qualities have been his real crimes, in the estimation of the French tribunals.

The next case we have to exhibit is still more iniquitous than the one we have just dismissed. The conclusion of the highest law courts of France have so encouraged and emboldened the petty magistrates of the provinces, that they have lost no time, even outstripping the example of the mayor of Metz. The following instance will show this. Monsieur Masson, formerly a schoolmaster, but for several years past in the employment of the Continental or European Missionary Society of London, as a preacher and minister of the gospel in the town of Bordeaux, in the department of the Drome, has been brought before the correctional tribunal of Die, under triple accusation of having formed an illegal association, and making himself its chief; of having lent his house for the meetings of this association; and of having been guilty of the crime of *swindling*. Now what does the reader think the real meaning of this accusation is? Why, 1st. That Monsieur Masson is a pastor, unsalaried by the state, of a religious congregation; second, that certain members of this congregation have held prayer meetings in his house; and third, that he has been in the habit of collecting money voluntarily offered, to aid Bible and missionary societies. It appears that M. Masson first established himself at Bordeaux on the invitation of the mayor and of the pastor of the National Temple church of that place. He continued his humble and useful labors there three years with the approbation of the authorities, and oftentimes, when the pastor of the National Temple has been absent, he has been invited to preach in his pulpit. But both the pastor and the mayor have lately been changed, and their successors have regarded the benevolent exertions of Mr. Masson with the utmost hostility. Perceiving from the case of Oster that he had the power to do so, the mayor of the place, an attorney, summoned Masson to discontinue his meetings; and this illegal summons not being, of course, complied with, that preacher of the gospel, and agent of the London European Society, has been brought before the tribunal of Die on the above charges. In the trial which has taken place—if it be permissible to give that name to the iniquitous proceeding—no attempt was made to show that the illegal association mentioned was other than a religious assembly. *Considered in this its true light, it has been denounced and condemned as an illegal association.* Neither is the crime of swindling, the other part of the accusation, asserted to have been anything else than the collection of voluntary subscriptions for the funds of religious societies. On the first two charges, which are properly reducible to one, M. Masson has been found guilty, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment, and to the payment of a fine of fifty francs, and all the costs. On the charge of swindling he has been acquitted, yet the *procureur du Roi* thought proper to declare that *the collections of money made were highly reprehensible, and although they might have been made without fraud, and with the utmost good faith, they still amounted to swindling*; that functionary, in summing up, also declared that if these religious assemblies were continued, he should prosecute those who were present at them as accomplices. The most remarkable feature of

this sentence is, that we find therein the law against political associations directly applied to religious meetings. The mayor of Metz did not go so far as this. He appealed only to the 294th article of the penal code, which article, though identical in its intents with the law against associations, yet not being actually the law itself, left a certain quibbling subterfuge open to escape from the interpretation put upon that enactment by the highest legislative authorities both in the chamber of deputies and of peers. The tribunal of Die, encouraged, no doubt, by the triumphant impunity of the mayor of Metz, has thrown off the false mask altogether. We shall be very much surprised if, on the next occasion that offers itself to put down a minister of the gospel, the highest penalty of the law is not inflicted, viz. a year's imprisonment, and a fine of 1000 francs; or if, the next time a similar accusation of swindling is brought against a Christian minister, he is not condemned and sent to the galleys. Persecution naturally *acquirit vises eundo*. Another singular feature of this case is, that the tribunal took upon itself to arraign the doctrine of M. Masson, a proceeding totally illegal, and destructive of the very essence of religious freedom. Fortunately M. Andre Blanc, the bosom friend and disciple and successor of Felix Neff, and M. Arnaud, the pastor of the National Temple at Crest, in both of whose pulpits the accused had often been invited to preach, were there to refute every calumnious imputation on this head. These gentlemen offered spontaneously to defend M. Masson, as the court would not postpone the trial for a few weeks till the advocate in whom he placed confidence could be present. Monsieur Andre Blanc, to whom we have had occasion to introduce our readers in a late paper, is, without question, one of the most apostolic men in France, and M. Arnaud is a clergyman of the highest respectability and benevolence. He possesses, too, worldly advantages which seldom fall to the lot of a French pastor. He is wealthy. We have had the pleasure of spending a few days with him at his house at Crest, and could almost fancy ourselves, during that time, on a visit at an English parsonage. But these gentlemen are not the only persons who feel a strong interest for M. Masson. Throughout the whole department of the Drome, and the surrounding departments, as we know ourselves, he is regarded with such warm affection that it is really touching to hear the people speak of him. In all the reports, too, to the Continental or European Missionary Society respecting the south of France, he is conspicuously pointed out as one of their most meritorious and effective agents. Had the sentence of the tribunal of Die fallen upon some turbulent fanatic, though it would have been equally illegal and unjust, it would not have excited the universal sympathy and indignation it has in the present instance called forth. But having for its victim one who has such unquestionable testimonies to the purity of his character and conduct from all quarters, it appears evident that the design is to quell totally those efforts which have been making so successfully of late years in France, for the spread of the gospel.

Another instance of oppression, somewhat different from those we have just mentioned, but nevertheless of the same character, has just come to our knowledge. The names of the person and places

we allude to we cannot yet specify, but for the truth of the facts we have to relate we are responsible. Mr. B., the pastor of T., received some time ago from a family inhabiting A., who had separated themselves from the Church of Rome, an invitation to visit them, that he might give them instruction on certain points concerning which they felt doubtful. Mr. B., accompanied by two members of his church, betook himself to the spot, and several persons were invited to hear him expound the Bible in the house of his inviter. Hearing of this, the local authorities, the mayor, and the *juge de paix*, addressed themselves to the prefect of the department, to expel the pastor from the place. He and his companions were represented as *adventurers* and *swindlers*. They were all banished with ignominy from the spot. The pastor, however, being unwilling to renounce the hopes he had of doing good there, and being a man most peaceably disposed, wrote to the mayor a most respectful letter, and injudiciously, in our opinion, offered, if he were permitted to return, to comply with the requirement of the 294th article of the penal code, and to hold no assembly that amounted in number to twenty persons. The mayor replied to him in the following letter, the original of which is in safe keeping. "Sir, I know very well what to think of your *charlatanism*. The faith of a Catholic will never give place to your *idiotisms*. It is my duty to prevent you making *dupes*. You are come to sow division among us, under the mask of hypocrisy," &c. &c. Here we see that *even when offering to obey the law, unjustly and illegally applied*, a gospel minister is still not suffered to exercise his functions. In the late papers we have laid before our readers on Protestantism in France, the writer of them has shown that all the new and flourishing reformed churches he has made mention of owed their origin precisely to the kind of effort which the mayor of A. has here so imperiously, and with so much insulting outrage, put down. Nothing can show more strongly than this reflection, the great extent of evil which the magistrates and law courts of France are now doing against the progress of the reformation in their country. Had they acted two or three years ago as they act now, not one of those churches we have alluded to would have been in existence. We have only a few words more to add on this case. It is needless to assure our readers, that Monsieur B., pastor of T., is neither an *adventurer* nor a *swindler*; such names, applied to him from the quarter whence they came, would naturally dispose our readers to think most favorably of him. We have, however, the most heartfelt gratification in farther assuring them, from personal knowledge, that Monsieur B. is one of those heavenly-minded men, so rare to be met with, whose whole lives are nothing but one continuous act of love toward all their fellow creatures.

Our readers will perceive, from the facts we have brought before them, that the suppression of the gospel in France is inevitable, if mayors and *procureurs du Roi* are allowed to triumph whenever they apply the law against associations to religious assemblies. We must repeat again, that the French government at present looks on with satisfaction when the law which secures freedom of worship is violated. Whenever, indeed, such instances of unjust and illegal conduct are brought before ministers, they do not attempt to vindicate

cate them ; they promise they shall be inquired into—but do nothing. They have also the common habit of saying to those who suffer or complain—“ *Why do you not ask for permission for authority to establish a worship? to men of your good conduct and character it would not be denied, and thus the whole contest would be put an end to.*” By this insidious proposition they hope to prevail upon the Protestants unconnected with the state to renounce the rights given them by the *Charte*, and to acknowledge a right in the government which it does not legally possess. This latter right once established by precedents, the government could proceed with a high hand ; and till it is attained, the petty authorities are encouraged by impunity to vex and oppress gospel ministers in every way, in the hope that they will at last, by dint of repeated vexations and prosecutions, surrender up their privileges. Hitherto, however, these zealous Christians have held manfully out, but how long they will continue to do so against deprivations of their places and means of subsistence, against imprisonments, fines, heavy costs, and—what is severer than all—the total absence of sympathy and resource either in the nation or the government, it is hard to conjecture. Besides being a feeble people in numbers, the real Protestants of France are a poor people. M. Masson, who has been lately thrown into prison, and saddled with the heavy expenses of the procedure against him, has only to support himself, his wife, and his family, on 30*l* per annum, the stipend allowed him by the European Society of London ; and the average income of all the pastors of the country is not more than 60*l* a year. To appeal therefore from court to court for the reversal of judgments which, however iniquitous, are sure to be confirmed, is heart-breaking and ruinous ; and yet this the French Protestants must do, if they would not passively succumb under a tyrannic oppression. The effort of resistance, too, they are now so imperatively called upon to make is most critical. If they cannot triumph now they never will triumph. Precedents will accumulate against them, and render their cause hopeless. One vantage-ground, however, they certainly possess at the present moment. The French government, when the question is brought before them in a manner to enforce attention, dare not deny the justice of their complaints, or the injustice of the sentence pronounced against them. It only remains, therefore, so to bruit, and to circulate the infamy of these sentences, that the French ministers may be shamed into an active interference in the behalf of those whom they have already acknowledged to be illegally dealt with. We are not too sanguine, we think, in believing that this result may arise even from this humble paper. In the year 1815, the Protestants of the South were also persecuted. Some of their temples and schoolhouses were arbitrarily suppressed, and other outrages committed, while the government of that period looked on with open unconcern and secret delight. An English individual, Mr. Mark Wilkes, then residing in Paris, was the first who exposed with zeal and indignation these proceedings. The English people declared loudly their abhorrence of them. Sir Samuel Romilly, in the house of commons, made a speech worthy of himself in advocacy of the French Protestants ; and finally, owing to the representations of Lord Liverpool, and the duke of Wellington,

then at Paris, to the French Cabinet, the persecution which had begun so flourishingly was put a stop to. Now we have no hesitation in saying that the persecuting acts we have above detailed threaten to be much more fatal than those perpetrated in 1815. If they are not marked with physical violence and bloodshed, it is not for this reason that they are less tyrannical—quite the contrary. The plan, we may perceive, is by single and separate deeds of oppression falling on obscure individuals, without power and almost without the means of defence, in instance after instance, at convenient intervals, to put down the gospel wherever it shall appear. As we have shown in former papers, there is an easy way of ejecting all zeal for the reformation from the national temples; and how it is sought, without the bounds of those temples, under the false legal pretexts, to root it totally out of the French soil; and this work will proceed silently and progressively, and be crowned with complete success, unless there be a public spirit roused which shall speak out with energy to frustrate it. We think, therefore, an appeal to English feelings on this question, and at this early crisis, urgently called for. A strong expression of opinion from this side of the water is always felt in France. If our zealous churches at home made common cause with their French Protestant brethren whenever the latter were suffering under acts of masterful tyranny, these acts would be so blazed and trumpeted abroad that the French legislature would be constrained to do justice. The individuals whose cases we have mentioned have been oppressed simply because they belong to a class of men so feeble and unsupported that they may be oppressed in all wantonness, not only with impunity, but without attracting the slightest notice, much less sympathy or aid, on the part of the public.

